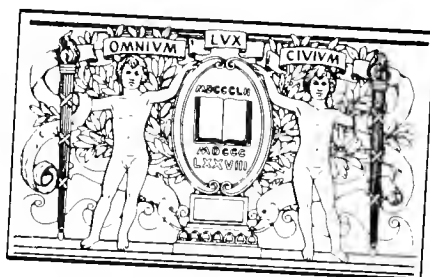


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Presentations of
A Conference on

INHALATION OF GLUE FUMES
AND OTHER
SUBSTANCE ABUSE PRACTICES
AMONG ADOLESCENTS

The Denver Juvenile Court

Judge Ted Rubin, Project Director and Host
Lester G. Thomas, Project Co-Director
Ralph Susman, Consultant

Sponsored by
The Office of Juvenile Delinquency and
Youth Development
United States Department of Health,
Education and Welfare

JANUARY 23 - 24 - 25, 1967

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AGENDA

INHALATION OF GLUE FUMES AND OTHER
SUBSTANCE ABUSE PRACTICES AMONG ADOLESCENTS

A Conference

Presented by: The Denver Juvenile Court
Judge Ted Rubin - Host

Sponsored by: The Office of Juvenile Delinquency and Youth
Development, United States Department of Health,
Education and Welfare

January 23 - 24 - 25, 1967

Denver, Colorado

Diplomat Motor Hotel

Monday, January 23

9:00 A.M. Welcome and introduction of resource persons and other representatives - Conference Host, Judge Ted Rubin, Denver Juvenile Court

Greetings: The Honorable John A. Love, Governor,
The State of Colorado

The Honorable Thomas G. Currigan,
Mayor, City and County of Denver

10:00 Coffee Break

10:30 "Delinquency Prevention and Treatment Programs Across the Nation" - Dr. John C. Scanlon, Acting Director, Office of Juvenile Delinquency and Youth Development, U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare

10:45 "Youth - A New Momentum," KEYNOTE ADDRESS, Dr. Joseph Lohman, Dean, School of Criminology, University of California, Berkeley

11:45 Unscheduled period for lunch

Afternoon theme: "Identification of the Problem of Substance-Abusing Adolescents"

1:30 Presentations by:

Mr. William Meloff, Assistant Professor of Sociology,
University of Alberta, Edmonton, Canada

Dr. Robert C. Hanson, Research Program Director,
Institute of Behavioral Science, University of Colorado,
Boulder, and Research Consultant, Denver Juvenile
Court Glue-Sniffing Project

Dr. Alan K. Done, Associate Professor of Pediatrics,
University of Utah Medical Center, Salt Lake City,
Utah

Mr. J. William Rawlin, Delinquency Study and Youth
Development Project, Southern Illinois University,
Edwardsville, Illinois

Dr. Victor Gioscia, Research Director, Jewish
Family and Children's Service, New York City

3:30 Coffee Break

4:00 Open discussion - resource persons and participants

5:00 Adjourn

5:15 - 6:15 "Dutch Treat" Cocktail Hour

Tuesday, January 24

Theme: "Substance Abuse - A Community Problem"

9:00 A.M. Presentation by members of a panel including the
following persons:

Lt. Richard Davis - Youth Investigation Unit, New
York City Police Department

Judge Walter P. Dahl, Presiding Judge, Circuit
Court of Cook County, Juvenile Division, Chicago

Mr. Dale F. Ely, Supervisor of Attendance, Long
Beach Unified School District, Long Beach,
California

Dr. Milton Luger, Director, New York State
Division of Youth

10:30 Coffee Break

11:00 Open discussion - panel and audience

12:15 Conference Luncheon - Speaker, Dr. Richard Brotman, Professor, Department of Psychiatry, New York Medical College, New York, "Adolescent Substance Use - A Growing Form of Dissent"

Theme: "Creative Interventive Methods to Meet a Growing Problem"

2:00 P. M. Presentations by members of a panel including the following persons:

Dr. James T. Carey, Assistant Professor, School of Criminology, University of California, Berkeley and a Principal Investigator, Experimental Self-Help Project for Youthful Addicts, Berkeley

Mr. Salvador Ramirez, Director, El Paso Juvenile Delinquency Project, El Paso, Texas

Mr. Ted Alex, Group Therapy Consultant, Denver Juvenile Court Glue-Sniffing Project

Mr. Robert Sobolevitch, Assistant Superintendent, Youth Development Center at South Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

3:30 Coffee Break

4:00 - 5:00 Open discussion - panel and audience

5:15 - 5:45 Film Showing: Hobby Industry Association of American Motion Picture on Glue-Sniffing

Wednesday, January 25

Theme: "Refining the Intervention Model - Facts gathered, and questions unanswered thus far"

9:00 - 11:30 A. M. Workshops

Participants will be assigned to one of four workshops. Workshop co-leaders and participants will represent a wide variety of disciplines and community interests.

Coffee will be served in workshops

12:00 Luncheon and presentation of workshop questions,
interests, and concerns

2:00 P.M. Dr. Richard Brotman: An Integration of Presentations
and Workshop Concerns - "The Need for a High-
Impact, Community-Wide Intervention Model"

3:30 Review, Call-to-Action, and Adjournment by
Judge Rubin

PREFACE

THE REHABILITATION
OF GLUE-SNIFFING BOYS IN DENVER, COLORADO

A SPECIAL PROJECT

Prepared by

Lester G. Thomas
Director of Research and Programming
Denver Juvenile Court
Denver, Colorado

Sponsored by

The Office of Juvenile Delinquency and Youth Development
United States Department of Health, Education and Welfare

BACKGROUND. The practice of glue-sniffing was relatively unheard of in Denver prior to 1960. Since that time, this practice has become an increasing problem to law enforcement officials and the Juvenile Court.

The problems are increasing in two dimensions: (1) more children are using glue--it is estimated that as many as one-half of all Denver boys in the 10-17 year age group have experimented with glue, and that well over 1000 young people in that age bracket do or have used glue with some degree of regularity, and (2) regular glue-sniffers continue this practice despite admonitions. One probation counsellor related an incident in which he counselled two glue-sniffing boys extensively. Following the counselling session--during which the young men repeatedly avowed their ability and determination to stop sniffing glue--they were caught sniffing glue in an alley less than one block away from the Court building.

In recognizing that traditional probation counselling techniques are highly ineffective with these youth, Judge Rubin applied for--and received--a grant from The Office of Juvenile Delinquency and Youth Development, U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare to develop and apply new approaches toward the rehabilitation of habitual glue-sniffers.

Characteristics of glue-sniffing boys included in the Denver Juvenile Court Project

The average age of the boys--when they were admitted--was 13, with the youngest being 11, and oldest 15.

All the boys come from economically depressed, or at the best, marginal families--many of which were dependent upon some form of welfare.

The fathers were usually physically absent from many of the homes, and in some of the families where the father was present, he was inadequate and ineffective.

The glue-sniffers--and other members of their families, as well--were multi-problem individuals; they were frequently truant from school, and frequently in trouble with the law (for reasons other than glue-sniffing), and at odds with community center personnel and others attempting to help them.

Each glue-sniffing boy, admitted to the Court project, was given the California Psychological Inventory test. This test has been used extensively with a variety of types of teen-agers, including young delinquents and youngsters who are discipline problems in school. Both of these types of youngsters, on an average, test poorer than do "normal youngsters." The following reflects how glue-sniffers, on an average, compared with those two problem groups.

	California Psychological Inventory Scale	How glue-sniffers compared with:	
		(a) Young Delinquents	(b) School Problem
1.	Dominance (leadership)	Same	Same
2.	Capacity for status ("drive," ability to communicate)	Poorer	Poorer
3.	Sociability (popular, or participating students)	Poorer	Poorer
4.	Social Presence	Poorer	Poorer
5.	Self acceptance (readiness to feel guilt)	Same	Poorer
6.	Sense of well being (one's evaluation of his general physical fitness; one's inclination to exaggerate his worries)	Poorer	Poorer
7.	Responsibility (also similar to positive character integration)	Poorer	Poorer
8.	Socialization (being a good citizen; being highly socialized)	Poorer	Poorer
9.	Self Control	Poorer	Poorer

	California Psychological Inventory Scale (continued)	How glue-sniffers compared with:	
		(a) Young Delinquents	(b) School Problem
10.	Tolerance (fair-mindedness; humanitarian values)	Poorer	Poorer
11.	Good Impression (presenting a good impression of oneself; also indicates interest maturity)	Poorer	Poorer
12.	Communality (one is dependable and practical; also indicates few major conflicts)	Poorer	Poorer
13.	Achievement via Conformance (does good work in school; is not bothered with work inhibitions)	Poorer	Poorer
14.	Achievement via Independence (one is self-reliant and able to think for oneself)	Poorer	Poorer
15.	Intellectual efficiency	Poorer	Poorer
16.	Psychological mindedness	Same	Same
17.	Flexibility (one is not rigid)	Same	Poorer
18.	Femininity	More feminine	Same

These boys were also given a battery of sociometric tests upon entering Court project. Among other things these tests revealed:

Most glue-sniffers recognize as being "wrong" many of the asocial and anti-social activities in which they engage-- including glue-sniffing.

For the most part, these boys do not appear to be certain as to what is expected of them by their families, friends, parents, teachers, etc.

These boys tend to perceive themselves as being cut off from the mainstream of life in this city. They also feel that they have been isolated by their peers in the neighborhoods in which they live and in school.

Tentative Hypotheses Regarding the Phenomenon of Glue-Sniffing

It should first be stated that scientists in such areas as social science and medicine have not come to any firm conclusions regarding the etiology of narcotics addiction or alcoholism after many years of study. It would, therefore, be presumptuous for us, after less than a year's study of glue-sniffing, to make any definite statements. The following represent very tentative hypotheses which were formulated for use as a point of departure in our rehabilitative program.

Socio-economic and cultural aspects of glue-sniffing:

Evidence appears, increasingly, to indicate that habitual glue-sniffing most often occurs within a group which is, or which perceives itself as being, the most deprived group within a community. For example, in Denver, almost all known chronic glue-sniffers live at a very low socio-economic level. Also, although the overwhelming majority of these "heavy" sniffers are Spanish surnamed, nothing has been uncovered thus far which explain glue-sniffing as a cultural phenomenon, per se.

The phenomenon of glue-sniffing might well be thought of as being a "retreatist" reaction to a condition of anomie. Socio-metric tests, given these children, indicate that within their groups, concepts of "right" and "wrong" are not clearly defined, and members are not clearly aware of what is expected of them.

It is also noted that within these groups, norms are poorly defined, and there is relatively little consensus concerning these norms. Our original assumption that glue-sniffing is a form of retreat has been substantiated to the extent that some of the children involved in the project have indicated that sniffing is a means of handling anger.

Psychological assumptions underlying our intervention technique: Included among the basic human drives are:

(1) the need to belong to a group, a family unit, a segment

(or segments) of our social order, and (2) the need for power--this is a positive need inasmuch as "power," as the term is used herein, refers to a need for leadership, a need to be active (rather than passive in relationships with other people).

When these drives are frustrated, the person responds to the frustration with acts of revenge--the more severe the frustration, the more severe is the revenge. Examples of acts of revenge by young adolescents might include: malicious mischief, "acting-out" in school, petty theft, burglary, and automobile stripping.

As the frustration of these basic drives increases, the person becomes less concerned with committing acts of revenge against others and turns increasingly to committing acts which are self-defeating--he accepts self-concepts which are defined to prove that he is unworthy as a person. Examples of self-defeating acts by young adolescents might include: failure to participate in classroom learning situations, frequent truancy from school, experimentation with glue-sniffing, and committing delinquent acts and allowing oneself to be caught by the police.

As the frustrations increase, still further, withdrawal also increases further--as might be exemplified by chronic (habitual glue-sniffing), and dropping out of school. As authorities have indicated repeatedly, the ultimate living withdrawal is psychosis; the ultimate withdrawal is suicide. A suicide, recently, marked the end of the line for an adult psychotic glue-sniffer who failed to respond to treatment at a Denver mental health center.

OBJECTIVES OF THE PROGRAM:

Causing children to stop using glue is but a minor objective for it must be recognized that glue-sniffing is merely symptomatic of disturbing factors in the child's life.

It is hoped that through project intervention, participants in the program will gain a better self-image and will come to perceive of their environment as one in which they can function with some degree of "positive" status. Program participants will, then, hopefully, be better equipped to function in a manner which society is more ready to evaluate as "acceptable."

This broad area includes such factors as:

1. Increasing each child's ability to handle such normal emotions as anger, frustration and despair in ways that are overt, but less likely to bring the child to the attention of law enforcement authorities.
2. Increasing the ability of each child's family to face, evaluate, and implement steps which must be taken within the home to assist the child in altering his "unacceptable" mode of living.
3. Improve lines of communication and functioning relationships between public schools, law enforcement officials, community centers, courts, and other agencies involved in the lives of project children and their families. This factor is important because, frequently glue-sniffing and other "unacceptable" behavior is a child's indirect reaction to negative experiences in his daily life.

It is hoped, additionally, that as the result of this project, new medical findings will emerge which might tell us more concerning the physical results of glue-sniffing.

INTENSIVE THERAPY FOR GLUE-SNIFFING CHILDREN
DENVER JUVENILE COURT

Sponsored by
Office of Juvenile Delinquency and Youth Development (H. E. W.)

Director
Hon. Ted Rubin, Judge
Co-Director
L. G. Thomas

Court Boy's
Probation Dept.

Clerical Staff
Miss Frances Dudley
Mrs. Abby Bilyard

Control Group

Group Techniques
Consultant
Ted Alex, M. S. W.

Research Consultant
Robert Hanson, Ph. D.

data processing
as required

Casework Consultant
Miss Sue Dodson, M. S. W.

Experimental Group I
(Probation)
Group Counsellor
R. C. Arneson
Teacher-Counsellor
La Mar Steen

Experimental Group II
(Indigenous)
Group Counsellor
Anthony Perea

Experimental
Group III
Probation
Counsellor
Keith McHugh

PROCEDURES EMPLOYED:

Experimental Group 1. This is a natural-friendship group of some 11 delinquent children who receive intensive experiences which emphasize counselling, but which also includes activities, acculturational experiences such as creative crafts, field trips and competitive athletics. This group operates from a community center in the neighborhood in which these children live, and it is led by a Court probation counsellor.

This group of boys also receives a special educational experience in a public school. A special teacher, who is a part of this project, employs modified teaching methods and utilizes special materials in a numerically small class, three hours each school day; this is augmented by regular classroom learning activities. The special teacher also serves as counsellor-liaison between the children's classroom and their families. There is close and continuing communication between the special teacher and the group counsellor relative to the needs, strengths and shortcomings of each child.

Experimental Group 2. This is also a natural-friendship group of about 10 children who receive the same types of intensive group counselling, acculturational, and recreational experiences as do the members of experimental group 1. This group also operates from a community center in the neighborhood in which the children live, and it is led by a Spanish surnamed group leader, who is not a probation counsellor.

Although these children do not receive special academic attention as a group in school, the counsellor works very closely with the schools in order to assure improved attendance and participation by members of his group.

Experimental Group 3. The third experimental group consists of some 13 youngsters who receive intensive one-to-one counselling by a Court probation counsellor. Some counselling is conducted in the Court setting and some in the child's home or neighborhood. This counsellor also concerns himself with each child's school progress, problems and overall adjustment; in order to achieve

maximal school achievement, this counsellor has established a study-aid counselling program in which he helps his boys with their homework. He also frequently engages in athletic and other recreational activities with one or more members of his "group."

Each counsellor working with an experimental group provides counselling and day-to-day assistance in a variety of ways to the parents, siblings, and others who impinge on the life of each boy in order that unstable, inadequate home and neighborhood environments can be strengthened. Each counsellor and the teacher-counsellor receive intensive supervision weekly from named social workers and maintain detailed daily group or case records.

Control Group. This "group" consists of some 20 boys who receive "traditional" probation counselling in the Court setting. Due to the heavy caseload of the Court's regular probation staff, boys in this control group are able to receive the counselling services for only a few minutes each week, and interventive contacts with other members of the boys' families are minimal.

Project Advisory Committee. One of the major objectives of this project is that of improving lines of communication between officials whose agencies are involved in the lives of project participants. In order to facilitate meeting this objective, the project has an advisory committee which includes representatives of the police department, the public schools, the bar association, a graduate school of social work, and a large local medical facility.

Medical Examinations. Extensive physical examinations are given to each child included in this project. Medical staff of the adolescent clinic of Colorado General Hospital (which is also the Medical School of the University of Colorado), conduct the examinations in the hope that conclusive information can be obtained as to whether there are lasting physical effects which can be attributed to glue-sniffing, and if so, what are these physical effects. Findings in glue-sniffing youngsters will be compared with similar factors in "normal" youngsters in the same age category in order to determine significant differences between the two groups.

PROGRESS TO DATE. In terms of developing a relatively successful rehabilitation program, the most significant revelation is that the process which might be labeled, "Guided Group Interaction" is more quickly effective than is one-to-one counselling--even on a reduced caseload, intensive, basis, with family involvement, as indicated.

Perhaps one reason for the relative success of the group approach was revealed in the psychological factors previously reviewed. These boys are rather severely psycho-socially upset--their disturbance, as we saw, is greater than is the disturbance of most delinquents. It is entirely conceivable that these children are so "weak," and have been rejected so often, by so many people that they are literally incapable of functioning as individuals. As a group, however, they can support and reinforce each other, and in the group setting, they possess the potential for positive movement.

Another reason why one-to-one counselling appears less effective than the Guided Group Interaction approach is that the one-to-one counsellor must direct all his efforts toward the target child and, to some degree, his family. No influence is exerted toward the child's peer group. As members of that peer group attempt to relieve their frustrations and tensions, it is sometimes not difficult for them to convince the target child that he should join them.

Even at this date--prior to completion of the project--several "reasons" for glue-sniffing have emerged. First of all, it appears that there are two major "types" of sniffing: (1) recreational glue-sniffing--such as takes place during school vacation and at other times when there is nothing better to do with one's time, and (2) problem-connected glue-sniffing.

In the realm of problem-connected glue-sniffing, it would appear that much of the sniffing of this type is a mechanism for handling anger. For example, nothing makes glue-sniffers angrier than being called glue-sniffers. Frequently, larger, non-sniffing boys in school tease the sniffers about their habit. The sniffers become violently angry at this, but, realizing their inability to physically overcome their larger antagonists, use glue again.

The early teens is usually a period of accelerated activities for boys. "Normal" boys usually become very active in competitive sports, hiking, and other energy-consuming outdoor activities.

Acts of delinquency during this age period usually take the form of stealing and riding bicycles and automobiles, and precipitating fights and other disturbances. In short, most young delinquents "act-out" their hostilities. Young glue-sniffers appear to differ from other delinquents and from non-delinquents of their age in that their activities can best be defined as "acting-in"; these boys are relatively less interested and adapt in activities of an out-going nature.

The group of boys included in the special classroom situation have responded well to this approach. Generally, their attendance has improved, their motivation to learn has increased, and for the first time, some of them are expressing concerns about their futures.

To date, medical examinations have failed to reveal any physiological damage which can be attributed to glue-sniffing.

PROFILE OF GLUE-SNIFFERS ACROSS THE NATION. In order to determine whether Denver Court-acquainted glue-sniffers are essentially similar to their counterparts in other parts of the country, a nation-wide survey was conducted. A questionnaire was sent to the Court responsible for juvenile delinquency cases in each jurisdiction in the nation with a total population of 100,000 or more. A total of 157 questionnaires were mailed and the gratifying total of 83 responses were received. This represents a 53% rate of response.

In terms of obvious characteristics, court-acquainted glue-sniffers appear to be similar throughout the country. The following represents responses to the nation-wide questionnaire (items in which Denver Court-acquainted glue-sniffers are different than national results, notes explaining the differences are included).

Age

10 years or younger	2%
11 years	8%
12 years	10%
13 years	14%
14 years	18%

Age

15 years	27%
16 years	12%
17 years	8%
18 years	1%
Total - 100%	

Sex

Male	90%
Female	10%
Total - 100%	

Race

White	66%
White with Spanish or Mexican surname	29%
Negro	4%
Other	1%
Total - 100%	

Note: In Denver, more than 90% of all known habitual glue-sniffers are white with Spanish surnames. Analysis of nation-wide results indicate that in the Rocky Mountain and Southwest regions, where a sizeable proportion of the population is Spanish or Mexican surnamed, the majority of known glue-sniffing children are of this ethnic background.

Family income during past 12 months

\$0.00 to \$999.00	5%
\$1,000 to \$2,999	26%
\$3,000 to \$4,999	53%
\$5,000 to \$6,999	15%
\$7,000 to \$9,999	1%
Total - 100%	

Note: In Denver, approximately 40% of all Court-acquainted glue-sniffers come from families with annual incomes in the \$1,000 to \$2,999 category. Many of these families are welfare recipients or are dependent upon a marginally-employed father.

Marital status of natural parents

Married	48%	Separated or divorced . .	44%
Never married	5%	Other	3%

Percentage of glue-sniffing youngsters also involved in other delinquency: 80%

School attendance of glue-sniffers is:

Better than other delinquents	13%
About the same as other delinquents	53%
Not as good as other delinquents	34%
Total -	100%

Better than among other school children . . .	0%
About the same as other school children . . .	13%
Not as good as other school children	87%
Total -	100%

Dropout rate among glue-sniffers is:

Higher than among other delinquents	14%
About the same as other delinquents	68%
Lower than other delinquents	18%
Total -	100%

Higher than other school children	59%
About the same as other school children . . .	33%
Not as high as other school children	8%
Total -	100%

Deportment grades of glue-sniffers are:

Higher than other delinquents	13%
About the same as other delinquents	47%
Lower than other delinquents	40%
Total -	100%

Higher than other school children	3%
About the same as other school children . . .	13%
Not as high as other school children	84%
Total - 100%	

Relative achievement (grades) of glue-sniffers is:

Higher than other delinquents	3%
About the same as other delinquents	63%
Lower than other delinquents	34%
Total - 100%	

Higher than other school children	0%
About the same as other school children . . .	9%
Not as high as other school children	91%
Total - 100%	

Physical appearance

Glue-sniffing children:

Have a more mature physical appearance than most delinquents of their age	10%
Have about the same physical appearance as most delinquents of their age	55%
Have a less mature physical appearance than most delinquents of their age	35%
Total - 100%	

Have a more mature physical appearance than other school children of their age	6%
Have about the same physical appearance as other school children of their age	47%
Have a less mature physical appearance than other school children of their age	47%
Total - 100%	

Note: In Denver, virtually all Court-acquainted glue-sniffing children appear to be considerably less physically mature than other children of their age, delinquents or non-delinquent.

YOUTH: NEW PROBLEMS AND NEW DIRECTIONS

by

Joseph D. Lohman, Dean
School of Criminology
University of California
Berkeley, California

It has become a virtual byword in these times to speak of the "declining respect for law and authority." In every quarter we seem agreed on the note, sounded daily, almost hourly, by all of the mass media that the citizenry is not only failing in honoring specific laws but displays a mounting disregard for the "rule of law" itself as an essential aspect of the democratic way of life. But even as we echo a common concern, it is not so clear that we are all agreed as to what we mean and to whom and to what we are referring. It is true that national crime figures are approaching a point where law and order might well begin to break down, just as it did in the notorious communities of America's frontier west. Indeed, crime is currently outracing our capacity to deal with it, increasing four times as fast as our rapidly growing population; doubling in the past twenty years and with no improvement in sight. With the trend toward increased urbanization and the metropolitan pattern of distribution, the conditions traditionally associated with a plurality of conduct norms, with deviant behavior and crime, have been accentuated. The "great-city" has throughout history been the setting par excellence for crime and the criminal. But it should be apparent that the increasing lawlessness is only a surface symptom of a more deep-seated and more pervasive malaise. Many of us seem determined to fail in our assumption, if not our understanding, that crime is the lengthened shadow of the community. While the community is changing drastically, we are still straight-jacketed by its old shadow. We recognize statistical changes--over four million people added to the U.S. population since 1960 and more than 115 million now living in metropolitan areas. But we fail to see that the emergent metropolitan society is something more than new numbers and a new distribution of the population. There has been initiated a totally new set and complex of social relations. It is the newly emergent social groupings of the developing community whose strivings and aspirations have brought about a new condition of confrontation within the society. In the "great city" impersonal relations and individual detachment are the prevailing condition. The individual works, plays, and worships at places remote from where he lives. Control by family, friends, and neighbors is atomized. The individual has become, more than ever before, a face in the crowd--bored, lonely, part of the great market for vice and crime.

These enormous metropolitan concentrations--around Los Angeles, Chicago, New York, and many other areas--consist of people newly settled and for the most part strangers to one another. Their's is a dormitory existence. They do not know their neighbors, let alone relate to them in any continuing or effective way. The anonymity, the strangeness, the impersonality of the great metropolitan communities has become a standard condition of life in these United States. There has been created an enormous mobility and fluidity of life and a sense of detachment, even irresponsibility on the part of every individual to everyone else. It is this new way of life which magnifies the whole problem of law and order heretofore identified with the marginal world of the ghettos. In the boredom, the dullness, the chronic frustration of this new urban society, the individual counts for little. He is attended to even less and hence he becomes a ready customer for any exciting answer to his dull and uneventful existence.

Not only the market and pattern for vice but a conception of self as one of the excluded--an outsider (the current Negro reference to members of the race as "Soul Brothers" is suggested as a counter assertion) is built upon just such massive and indiscriminate collections of individuals. Their interests and appetites, while cultivated by the conditions of life engendered by the "great city," are outlawed by our legal system. Correspondingly, the police are confronted by widespread desires for gambling, sexual gratifications, thrill giving or pacifying drugs, freedom from the effects of unbridled competition, and other sundry restraints. In view of the current chronic confrontations between the law and the practices which have been generated in great sections of the population of our cities it is instructive to recall an observation made, over twenty-five years ago, shortly after the repeal of the Prohibition Amendment, by a leading American criminologist.

American culture does not demand or approve obedience to all laws. . . . The slogan "obey the laws" is never meant to be taken without qualification. It is but a slight exaggeration to say that most conservative people believe that other people should obey most of the most important laws most of the time. . . . The implied injunction--"break no laws"--is not obeyed even by the most meticulously moral.¹

¹ Donald R. Toft, Criminology 1942, p. 234.

In a textbook for new police recruits, and anticipating the rebuffs they will encounter, three leading police scholars with long experience in police affairs had this to say in confirmation of that commentary:

Those who enter the service may expect to find that his very finest efforts for the community will often be misunderstood, resented and sometimes bitterly opposed by otherwise good citizens simply because they themselves are inconvenienced. And too there exist in almost every community, a certain number of citizens who resent authority in any form, delight in community disturbances and do all they can to obstruct the conduct of police business. Those who enter the service may expect to find, in many situations, exhaustive testing of their patience, stability and objectivity.²

In their different perspectives the police and the scholars of crime have painted up the failing respect for the law. The tensions which have been engendered between the law and the various elements of the community upon which it is enforced could make life intolerable in our urban society. A clue to the search for an answer to our dilemma may be indicated in A. V. Dicey's lectures on Law and Opinion in England during the nineteenth century. Dicey observed that:

Individuals, indeed, and still more frequently classes do constantly support laws or institutions which they deem beneficial to themselves, but which certainly are in fact injurious to the rest of the world. But the explanation of this conduct will be found in nine cases out of ten to be that men come easily to believe that arrangements agreeable to themselves are beneficial to others, a man's interest gives a bias to his judgment far oftener than it corrupts his heart.³

Let me add to this insightful passage another sobering reflection on the American scene which Alexis De Tocqueville offered us in his search for the principles which were forging the American character. De Tocqueville identified individualism as a characteristic product of democracy. Its first effects he saw as weakening the sense of public

²A. C. Germann, F. D. Klay, and R. J. Gallati, An Introduction to Law Enforcement, 1962.

³A. V. Dicey, "Law and Opinion in England," 1905, pp. 4-15.

responsibility, turning to selfishness and the default of citizenship unless the constitutional structure is designed to encourage association in free institutions, ". . . conducted by the men who reside there, (hence) the same persons are always in contact, and they are, in a manner, forced to be acquainted and to adapt themselves to one another."⁴ Dicey and De Tocqueville in large measure anticipated the bases of our current dilemma. Each in his own way has set forth the possible social and cultural sources of the current tendency toward a polarity of interest and resulting confrontation between the newly emergent interest groups, and the traditional and established authority.

Lack of respect for law is very often assumed to be evidence of a willful disregard for legitimate authority and evidence of personal defect and/or shortcoming. We have much to learn about the mysteries by which societies generate an abnormal response within their own circle. But this has become increasingly apparent. It is the social structure itself which contributes to such behavior. Indeed, it is the self-same social structure expressing its force and influence in an ambivalent manner which produces on one hand the conforming individual, the person respectful of the social codes, and on the other, the deviant and lawbreaker who are disrespectful of the law. It may well be that what we observe as "disrespect for law" is a normal reaction of normal people to an abnormal condition.

We are here assembled with a common interest in the problems of law and its enforcement in the maintenance of the peace and security of the community. However, what may be regarded as a contribution of the solution of our problems in one quarter may, by the very nature of the case, be regarded as a negative one in another. It is not the mere fact of common language and a common statement of purpose which insures agreement. In fact, language is often deceptive and even obstructive. Much that we do as social beings must be lived and dealt with in some kind of shorthand communication. We invent terms or phrases and attach to these words some vague notion--of social well-being, the public good, the maintenance of the peace, respect for law. Unfortunately, because we have had reference to some words which we use in common, we assume the problem has been solved, that we are in agreement.

⁴Alexis De Tocqueville, Democracy in America, Vol. II, 1840, p. 103.

Centuries ago, the Greek philosopher, Socrates, saw the danger of our going overboard with this common language as the solution of our problems, when he said: "He who first gave names and gave them according to his conception of the things which they signified, if his conception was erroneous, shall we not be deceived by him?"

I am reminded of the story told of the lion hunter who, with the desire to hunt the king of beasts, set off for Africa with all the necessary equipment. Somewhat fearful of lions, he was troubled with what might happen if he missed when he pulled the trigger. He became increasingly apprehensive as the day approached when he would engage his lion. Finally that day came and that which he feared happened. His knees shook, his hands trembled, and his gun jammed. He did the only thing he could do under the circumstances; he closed his eyes, dropped to his knees, and lifted his voice in prayer. He prayed to the all-powerful Lord above to deliver him, to save him from this awful fate. For a time all was quiet and nothing seemed to be happening; perhaps his prayers were being answered. So he cocked open one eye and looked out and there was the lion, strangely enough, also in a position of prayer. So he threw his hands up to the heavens above and shouted, "Hallelujah, Hallelujah, praise be the ever-living all-powerful God, we are both praying to Him! Obviously we can talk this thing over." And the lion responded, as sometimes lions do, "Yes, I'm praying. I'm saying Grace. What are you doing?"

We are all interested in the law; we are all interested in maintaining the peace of the community--the Negro and the white, the young and the old, the rich and the poor. All of us subscribe to a common language that, at least on the surface, seems to suggest that we are as one. But we have the problem of what this language means and the perspectives in which we stand. Many of the problems which are confronting us today have a meaning and significance which are quite different from what we have traditionally ascribed to them or to the situations they represent. For example, there is much said these days about the estrangement of the young and the old; we speak of young people being "alienated," and estranged from the adult community. We refer to persons frequently as members of groups which do not identify with the general community, who live to themselves in some separate place according to their own standards. We see them at odds with the norms and values, with the law, of the society. The point is that we see and explain the

individuals we address through law enforcement as persons who, for some identifiable reason, are individually at odds with the conforming patterns of society.

I would like to suggest that this estrangement, this alienation, of individuals can be regarded in a quite different way. It will profit us, for a moment, to examine the agencies, institutions, and organizations to which we subscribe, and to apply the notion, which we are applying to individuals, to the institutions themselves. I think it might be properly suggested that even as we speak of persons as being estranged and alienated from the conventions and norms of society and from its institutions, we may be confronted in the current day by a crisis of these same institutions. For it can be seen that the institutions are not necessarily as one with the changing social scene. They do not reflect in themselves the trends, and so there are, indeed, stresses in education. There are stresses in welfare. There are stresses in law enforcement. It is these crises and the dilemma of our traditional services which need to be made explicit.

One might appropriately refer to the traditional services as alienated and estranged from some people, indeed, many people, rather than the reverse. We may state the problem differently: along with the revolt of the Negro, the revolt of youth, there are a whole series of specific revolts which are being expressed in various ways--in petitions for new legislation, for a new philosophy and orientation on the part of the organized society and its instrumentalities. There is, if you please, the revolt of the clients, and this may very well be represented in what, at long last, the poverty program is awakening to and which we see reported in the daily press as the request by the poor for a role in the decisions which are affecting them.

We have given verbal service to this viewpoint in the past, but it is not generally the way in which the agencies and institutions of our society have organized and made available their services. The professional services have been made available on a worker-client relationship and we are only now modifying our traditional practices in the light of protest and, shall I say, the talking back of these clients. There is a revolt of the clients. The revolt is manifest in the attitude they take toward the school, toward welfare, toward the police, and toward other agencies. The crisis of the helping services has been triggered by processes which reflect our society in major transition.

Some very profound changes of revolutionary proportions are taking place in American society. These changes are responsible for structuring the relations of certain individuals to us in the same way that our administrative organizations have structured our relations to them. It is important for us to see that problem as it is posed in context. The contemporary American revolution involves three factors: the explosive rate of population increase; the doctrine of civil rights, an ideological force which has no precedent in recent history; the impact of technology which is producing a shape of things for which we have not bargained and which is profoundly affecting many individuals. These tremendous changes are more than facts in themselves-- they are the condition for the creation of a new pattern of human relations in this country. We often find it difficult to perceive this new pattern, primarily because our relationships are traditionally structured and we are disposed to maintain the traditional structure. Let us take a brief look at the influences which are transforming the community and creating a new and formidable pattern of subcultures. The subcultures present to us a pattern of adaptive behavior which we tend, for the most part, to treat as if it is the behavior of unique individuals rather than as a manifestation of collective experience. The members of subcultures are a phenomenon of collectivity and they cannot be addressed as though their behavior was that of exceptional individuals. We cannot engage them effectively as individuals because they are under a collective influence to which they are correspondingly responsive, and which is in competition, even overt conflict, with the remote and formal influences of the school, the police, and other institutions of society. Such agencies and institutions, by their very nature, exclude these individuals; hence, affirming their behavior on which we then pass judgment as evidence of individual shortcomings rather than as a manifestation of their informal social life.

Crime can be considered as merely a highly dramatic expression of the whole problem of social deviance--a variation from true north, so to speak, from the central tendencies of society. Crime, though a non-conformist expression, is as much a reflection of the patterning of social life as are the conformist expressions of society. In truth, it must be seen as an instance of conforming behavior, and recognized as such. Crime, like other behavior, is in some measure a reflection of the community.

In this sense, it is important for us to recognize that the problem's whole incidence is increasing--e.g., juvenile delinquency and other mass expressions of youthful behavior--are a projection of deep-seated processes at work in the life of the community. Over one-half of the United States population is under twenty-one years of age, and sixty per cent of serious crime is committed by those eighteen years of age and under. Thus, youngsters who are marginal in society must be regarded not only in relation to the society as a whole but in relation to the social patterns of their local communities. It is sometimes mistakenly assumed that youngsters who are marginal in school are, therefore, marginal in their communities. But the society which produces the conformist and conventional middle-class youngster also produces the non-conformist, the deviant or delinquent youngster who is not effectively engaged by the conventional institutions of society.

The non-conformists are not qualitatively different from other young people. They are not persons who are necessarily unable to adjust and who cannot have effective relations in any kind of social context. Too frequently we speak about the necessity for "socializing" young offenders, apparently assuming that they are sterile creatures lacking the capacity for living in a state of realistic accommodation with their fellows. The truth is that many whom we tend to regard as maladjusted are, as a matter of fact, frequently in a remarkable state of adjustment. Such people may, indeed, be extremely socialized, but their socialization may involve commitments to groups at variance with the norms and standards of other groups in the society. These young people are social beings and we must not fail to see them as such. If they are socialized with reference to exotic and questionable groups, we must see this as the reality, and focus on the terms and conditions of their socialization rather than treat them as persons unable to adjust. The point is that social problems are more frequently a conflict between groups rather than a conflict between individuals and a group. Conflict is resulting today from the emergence of significant pools of collective experience which have taken on the proportions of subcultures, which are, almost by definition, in many respects in opposition to the wider culture.

Negroes, Mexican-Americans--indeed, youth in general--live in a world which is apart from the total social world of others. They participate in lesser degree in the general life of the community, and thus there evolves among them a definition of life, in some measure, at odds with the life of the community.

Parenthetically, I might add that this is true of our senior citizens as well. American society today tends to be centrifugal in character; its elements are being forced outward, thus, forming smaller groups, each with its own local pool of experience and culture. This is true of young people, of the poverty-stricken, and of members of racial minorities. Prior to the mid-twentieth century, American society was centripetal; it was directed to one standard, one norm, one set of values. The European immigrants of the nineteen and early twentieth centuries searched for a way to participate in the society as a whole and to be one with it. They wanted to become acquainted with its customs, arts, skills, and technology. The concept of the "hyphenated" American on the whole de-emphasized ethnic origins and emphasized the melting pot process--the transition from what they had been to what they were all to become in the new society. The reverse of this tendency is markedly in evidence at the present time. As I have said before, the revolution in population, civil rights and technology has had the effect of driving the society apart and forcing it to manifest itself in local pools of experience, i.e., subcultures, which are the mainsprings of the problem behavior we see on every side. More often than we have recognized, the attitudes, values and perspectives of great numbers of the population stem from their allegiance to these subcultures, not from fundamental and intrinsic differences. We must continue to explore the mystery of the process which causes a society to manifest itself in so many different ways.

Our problem youth, whatever the nature of their problem, are not objects, independent of and unrelated to our treatment of them. The machinery for dealing with them is definitional. A youngster who is singled out for attention is regarded by the community as being somehow different. Consequently, he develops a different attitude toward himself, and others view him differently. Dealing with him may create a new set of social relationships, whereas not so dealing with him may mean that he is not distinguished from others in the common, on-going processes of society. It is certainly true that there are latent, and as yet unreported, effects which result from the way in which we address our problems, and our developing knowledge increasingly focuses on these secret effects which often over-shadow the influences that have already been identified in particular relationships.

Our attitude toward the atomic bomb serves to illustrate this point. Today we are as much preoccupied with fallout as with the destructive power of the bomb, and yet fallout is only an aftermath

of the release of atomic energy. At first we did not consider it important, but today it is a matter of major importance. Those who caution against adopting a patronizing attitude in personal relationships are not referring to mere subtleties. "Manner" generates unexpected reactions among those who are being served, even if the patronizing of an individual is not deliberate.

It is ironic that segregation in the United States today, after the passage of the anti-segregation laws, is far more widespread than when segregation legally existed. One reason, of course, is that greater numbers of people are involved. The second and more important reason is that a subtle de facto system of discrimination has come into existence. The practice of subtle discrimination is pervasive, and it often serves as a more accurate measure of the attitudes of individuals than an expressed declaration to members of minority groups. Let me state this in another way. At the present time, many people are inclined to question the propriety of the civil rights movement. Why, they ask, do Negroes feel it necessary to mount a civil rights program when they have already been emancipated from the traditional system? It is easy to reply that Negroes do this because they have tasted the fruits of freedom and want more, but this answer is not the whole of the matter. White Americans believe that non-white Americans have achieved their victory and established their positions as free, independent, and equal citizens. This is simply not so; it is untrue and a few examples will suffice to prove its falseness.

Consider the Negroes' position in the large cities of the North in terms of residence. More Negroes live under conditions of residential segregation today than twenty years ago. This is true of every northern city--Chicago, San Francisco, New York, Los Angeles, to name only a few. Negroes have moved into all the northern cities, but as they have moved in, the whites have moved out to the peripheral suburban areas. This has created a new pattern of social relations whose distinguishing feature is greater segregation of whites from Negroes and Negroes from whites than ever before in our history. A generation ago, in Chicago, fifty per cent of the non-whites lived in communities in the city in which half the population was white. Today there are almost a million Negroes in Chicago, and eighty-five per cent of them live in communities in which more than eighty-five per cent of the population is non-white. A whole generation is living under much more segregated conditions than their forebears. This is illustrative of conditions throughout the country, and it refutes the widespread idea that progress in residential desegregation has been made in which Negroes should take satisfaction.

With reference to the changing technology, automation has produced results very different from those generally assumed to be the case. It is a popular belief that Negroes have achieved new occupational opportunities and status. The truth is that Negro unemployment ranges from twelve to twenty per cent in many communities; in some communities, fifty per cent of the youthful non-whites are unemployed. These figures are in sharp contrast to the national unemployment rate of four to five per cent. In certain respects, since the end of World War II, the position of the Negroes with regard to employment has deteriorated rather than advanced. Negroes were employed during the war, often in upgraded positions, and they held jobs which they had never previously held. The end of the war and the subsequent development of automation (which has very special implications for blue collar workers) resulted in pushing Negroes out of jobs and into the ranks of the unemployed. The Negro, therefore, is deeply concerned about employment, but the suburban whites who see Negro pickets in front of grocery stores and factories do not understand the reason for the concern. Negroes picket because they know that things are not as good as they are declared to be, but whites do not understand this fact and their failure to understand it means that they will communicate a gross misconception to a whole generation.

People who are solicitous about the welfare of Negroes know that the black-skinned child who wants to be President does not have a very good chance, and most of us think that it might be well for him to concentrate on a reasonable goal; we suggest to him that he should not aspire to middle-class activities since he will find it difficult, if not impossible, to enter into them. More frequently than we realize, our solicitousness adds fuel to the fire of his bitter recognition of what he sees as a discriminatory and segregated social system. The helping services remind him that he should not aspire to the impossible; to him it is the butt end of the stick. When we attempt to be friendly, kind, and encouraging he finds us guilty of patronizing, and in this way we may be an instrument of the social structure and organization in a quite different way than we realize.

It is, indeed, ironic that a society at the height of its affluence should find it necessary to mount a war on poverty. In our society of today, there are large groups of people who are not necessary for the maintenance of the affluent society. We are no longer dependent on the sweat and toil of many people in order

to assure productivity. Why do we now focus on the marginal groups if they are not needed economically in the affluent society? We must concentrate our attention on them because the condition of their marginality has produced deprivation, and deprivation is a phenomenon which generates problems. The human animal, of course, attempts to find answers to problems. The subcultures are, in short, the problem-solving answers to their situations of stress and trial; correspondingly, the subculture, which many of us see only as the evidence of a set of negative attributes and only to be deplored, is to many individuals a solution to their life's problems. It is their means of making life tolerable under the conditions of their deprivation. I refer to something more than physical environment, something more than the slums that we see as an environmental problem for many of our youngsters. I refer to the way in which people live their answers to their problem, respond to the lack of jobs; answer to their condition of deprivation forced upon them by the enveloping social structure. Their answers are the positive, organizing principles of their lives and they bring their answers into the school, the playground, the factory and the law. In short, they bring their answers into the wider society which, for the most part, in its present structuring of professions and services, is not prepared to recognize that the answers have positive value.

We tell them, "assume our habits, culture and attitudes and accept us on our conditions." This leaves them without any resource for working in the situations which actually confront them. Failure is their experience, for we do not give them rewards that are contingent upon their own natural learnings and adjustments to the world of deprivation from which they come. Their material and psychological deprivation has generated problem-solving responses. The residual piling-up of the problem-solving responses has produced the subcultures of the deprived groups. In this background lies the significance of the behavior of the Negro child who comes from a black ghetto. If he is combative or inattentive, it is almost a certainty that a significant cultural pattern is there. His defiant attitude has in his milieu a survival value and his hostility is a partial answer to the situation in which he finds himself.

We are experiencing an eclipse of the formal controls of society because of the prior claims these subcultures have upon these individuals. There is a natural antagonism between the children of the slums, the racial groups and the police, as well as

the general community. Today the "real" controls are in the area of the local, the primary, the face-to-face experience of these groups which are at odds with the general society.

We may very well ask, "Why is it students have no sense of shame and guilt as young persons formerly exhibited?" It appears to many that they have become cold, callous, inhuman agents without the essential characteristics of the youth which they remember. But there is a sense of shame and guilt. Shame reinforces locally defined, non-conforming behavior. In the current cultural communities of America, a variety of subcultures has made shame and guilt problematical. They reflect the local subcultures to which the young people relate. Hence, it produces non-conformity rather than conformity to the established norms of the general society, and correspondingly, it emphasizes attitudes which have local value. The power of the subculture to effect this reversal of values and norms is not fully appreciated. We are still asking ourselves why it is that formal ordering and forbidding techniques are not able to produce conformity. If the policeman's lot in the past years has been, as Gilbert and Sullivan said, "An unhappy one," it is likely to be an even unhappier one in the future, unless there is an alteration in the development of these young people. We are continuing to subscribe to the notion that we can police the community without having it formally supported by the informal systems of control.

The tremendous population flux and growth of recent years brought on, between 1950 and 1960, a new pattern of population concentration in the major cities of the United States. The twelve largest cities of the United States lost nearly two million white residents who were replaced by two million Negro residents in that short ten-year period. This transformation was accompanied by a disproportionate change in the youth population within those cities. The city of Washington has a non-white population of well over sixty-five per cent, but the public schools enroll well over seventy-five per cent non-white. Chicago reported this year that over fifty-one per cent of the students in the public schools were from the subculture of the Negro world. Only a quarter of the total population of that city is Negro. The city of Philadelphia has a non-white school population of well over fifty per cent, whereas thirty-three per cent of the total population of that city is non-white. The public schools of our major cities are confronted with a population, one-third to one-half of which comes out of a subculture with characteristics which challenge the capacity of our schools to engage them.

In 1951, one out of every ten children in the twelve largest cities of the United States was identified as culturally disadvantaged by the public schools. Today, it is more than one in three who are referred to in these terms. They represent problems of background that make it impossible to move them along in the school system at the same pace as other more advantaged youngsters. Projecting the trends, it now appears the ratio may well be one in two in the major metropolitan centers by 1980.

The problem of young people, generally, is not wholly different from that of minority group youth. Many young people relate to the adult community in such ways as to suffer low self-esteem, and hence see themselves as unimportant and insignificant. Therefore, they must compensate by developing attitudes, norms, and values which do give them a sense of worth and importance. And more frequently than is good for the society, this turns out to be a condition of defense, a condition of rebellion, rather than a condition of identity with the adult culture. So the deprived or disadvantaged young people of our time, in increasing numbers, can be seen as demonstrating a cultural self-image which reflects a contra-culture, representing rebellion and opposition to the norms and standards of the wider community. On picket lines, or in gang groups in alleys and byways of the slum, they can be seen as reacting to, and rejecting the larger community.

The changing social scene has made it difficult or impossible for the young to attain the chief hope of every self-sustaining individual, namely, the realization of personal work satisfaction, or the finding of one's self in one's life task or work. Paul Goodman has stated the issues succinctly when he writes, "It's hard to grow up when there isn't enough man's work." In normal conditions a large part of security comes from knowing that your contribution is useful and the rest from knowing that it is uniquely yours--that "they" need you. Earlier generations in the United States have been needed because the very life of the family--bread on the table or coal in the kitchen range--depended on their contributions. Even for the slum child, scavenging along the railroad tracks to get coal, it wasn't difficult, however irksome the task, to understand that this was a meaningful and important function that he was performing. He was wanted. What he was doing was needed and it was significant in this sense. Hence, chores, as we knew them, were something more than these mere irksome invasions of childish freedom; they were meaningful additions to the family income. The family larder, indeed the security of the family itself, often depended on the contribution of its youthful members.

But in these times, in these United States, we no longer have, for the most part, the same needs for our children. For example, we no longer need them to support us in old age as was the case before the advent of the collective institutionalized social security system. Indeed, for economic reasons and more recently for technological reasons, the adult world finds little need for youth. For the most part, they are in the way; they are a burden. To a large extent youth has been transformed from an economic asset for the average parent into his greatest economic liability. The fact that the child has become an income tax deduction has by no means made up the difference. The prolongation of childhood and the child labor laws, quite apart from the impact of automation and technology, and the cost of bringing up and educating a child for as much as fifteen to twenty years or more of his life without any return, means that the economic grounds for a mutual need of the generations have passed with the times. In short, the economic roles, the obligations and responsibilities, the rewards, even the power relations between the young and the old, are only shadows of the recent past. The powers and responsibilities of each are unclear and tenuous. Indeed, in some respects, the relationships have been completely reversed. A factor which threatens to take from youth its sense of importance and usefulness--its sense of being needed--is threatening vast numbers of the adult society as well, for the automated machine has made all too many able-bodied men in the prime of their lives face an uncertain future of chronic indigence and insecurity.

Youth, itself, feeling insecure because of its marginal position in a society that no longer depends upon it for economic survival, is tempted to use the power this reversal between the generations has conferred on him to be accuser and judge of his elders. Hence, we witness the ubiquitous pattern of rebelliousness in present-day youth. This rebelliousness is manifest, to be sure, in a plurality of ways by different kinds of deviant patterns, including on the one hand, crime and delinquency, on the other hand, radical and conservative political activism of every hue, and still again, a variety of Bohemian life-styles. The Free-Speech Movement at Berkeley included supporters of Goldwater, Johnson, as well as radicals of the extreme left. But, nevertheless, these patterns are inclusive of the broad reaches and more numerous conventional elements of the whole world of youth. We are becoming increasingly aware of the existence of a variety of subcultures which are a product of the problem-solving disposition of human groups when confronted by specific and recurrent life problems. These are, in turn, a

reflection of both the broad encompassing and the narrow and specific changes in the social and economic situation confronting young people in general, and in particular, as members of differentiated cultural, economic, and racial groups.

While it is true that only a small percentage of young people participate overtly in acting out the spirit of rebellion, many more are vulnerable and the general spirit of rebellion may well extend to greater numbers. The result may be a profound modification of the traditional patterns of power and authority. This is already indicated by the increasing incidents of attacks upon the police and other symbols of power and authority by young people.

Our society has been developing a complex of subcultures which are driving us apart into local communities and groups, and in which the members are interacting among themselves and producing their own distinctive norms and values. These are the current subcultures of youth, of race, of suburbia, and of income (high and low). It is the reality of these subcultures which is so confounding to the established institutional structures and those who man them. It is not that there is a culture of crime. It is that there is such a plurality of subcultures that the problem of the individual's adjustment to commonly-accepted norms is confounded and that deviance and opposition to law and authority are generated as a matter of course. Crime, delinquency, disrespect for law and the police are its logical accompaniment. We must develop means for modifying and preparing personnel to play quite new and meaningful roles. A paradox of the new metropolitan developments is that we are constantly moving toward self-defeating extremes in our desperate and uninformed effort to keep abreast of the changing community. The heartlands of our great metropolitan centers are becoming the provinces of the new minorities. These groups are a potential threat. They may express themselves in the traditional patterns of organized crime as well as the current disturbances. They have come out of a segregated, discriminatory experience in search of freedom and opportunity into a social environment which in many respects continues as restrictive as the older pattern. It is then not only crime which becomes the abortive fruit of the failure to understand this changing community. The unwitting processes of the middle-class suburban drift and the transformation of vast areas of central cities into enormous racial slums have profound social and political implications. The traditional alliances between crime and politics

have focused on the immigrant community and the slum. We may very well usher in a new era of unprecedented political conflict between the cities and their suburbs, with aggravating overtones of race tension and conflict as an additional feature to the existing patterns of organized crime. To ignore the social, economic, and cultural disabilities under which these populations labor, to try to contain their volcanic eruptions by the mere expedient of repressive and antiquated police measures, can only have the effect of force-feeding the fires which are smoldering in the core of our metropolitan communities.

In short, many of the problems which confront us stem from the failure of the public to know and to understand the new dimensions and ramifications of community life. Traditional police measures will not repress and contain these populations. The fact is that our most professional police organizations have had no more success than others in containing such disturbances. No amount of focusing on police measures which accent repression in the traditional approach to the problem can have any prospect of success.

An effective law enforcement function must be familiar with and equal to its target. The ultimate answer is to see crime and violence, not just as problems in law enforcement, but as problems in education, family organization, employment opportunity, and housing. These are the structures which incubate deviance, and hence, crime, delinquency, and violence. They are the structures which breed disrespect for law and the police. It is a myth that man's behavior can be changed directly. It can be changed only by altering the conditions which underlie his behavior. We must in this instance treat the causes and not just the effects of crime and violence. In short, the demonstrations of the current day and the eruptions of a racial or youthful nature are evidence that we are at a critical juncture in the history of the United States and the development of its communities. That juncture is the emergence of a new kind of community--the metropolitan community which is not merely a bigger place, not merely a change in population size nor in geographic location. The distinguishing features of the new metropolitan concentration is that it represents a whole new set of human relations, and those human relations must be the condition of action of the law and the police. The new community cannot be policed in terms which were appropriate to the village communities or to the urban centers which preceded the new great and complex metropolitan centers.

The remedy of the failing respect for law is not a simple one, but the sober admonitions of Dicey and De Tocqueville point the way. In our democratic system, the power to make and implement the law lies with the majority of the community. It is to the majority that we must look in remedying the insensitivity and intransigence of the society in its relation to the groups who live marginal to the centers of power. The young, the poor and the minority groups have frequently viewed the law as not of their making or to their interest; like unto the law of a foreign power and the police as an army of occupation. Those who are thrice defined in their exclusion and deprivation--those who are young, those who are poor, and those who are of minority status--have been sharpest in their protest, most militant in their behavior and least respectful of the law. As Dicey observed, "Men come easily to believe that arrangements agreeable to themselves are beneficial to others."

In going our separate ways and abandoning so many to an excluded life of deprivation we are realizing the selfishness of individualism of which De Tocqueville forewarned the democracies. This individualism has its extreme expression in the polarities of youth and age, of black and white, of the affluent and the poor.

Our remedy for disrespect for law is not to be found in merely admonishing the populace and seeing all who oppose it as without reason. Our remedy will be found in a greater dialogue and a fuller participation in the counsels and decisions of the majority by those who have been and continue to be excluded from the making and implementation of the law. The remedy is in "just laws," democratically designed and sensitively enforced.

ADOLESCENT SUBSTANCE USE

A Growing Form of Dissent

by

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Since my topic today is substance use among adolescents, you might expect me to tell you about the disastrous personal consequences of this, or the terrible social problems it creates. I am not going to do that. I am not going to give you a public-relations spiel on "the drug problem." I don't want you to go home worried, or frightened, or fired up to get some new laws passed.

Many of my colleagues in the mental health professions wish more attention would be paid to their own specialty. I wish less would be paid to mine. As an expert in this field--and there's a whole group of us--I've spent a number of years traveling around the country to conferences, and testifying before legislative bodies, and talking to all kinds of professional groups. And we all keep saying pretty much the same thing: we used to emphasize that there are different kinds of drug users and that differential diagnosis ought to be introduced into their treatment; now we try to get people to understand that there are different kinds of drug use, too, and that one of the kinds is conformist adolescent use. The main result of all this educational effort is that we get a plethora of dreadful legislation and an hysterical press.

It goes in cycles, of course. A month ago the New York papers were running two or three drug stories a day. Now we're seeing one a week. States are having contests to see who can pass the harshest humanitarian laws. And the district attorney announces that the schools are full of LSD. In the ensuing scramble it seems almost forgotten that what the schools are really full of is kids.

So what I want to talk about today is "adolescence" with a sub-heading "substance use," rather than the other way around.

Let me tell you first how I happen to know something about this. For a number of years the mental health profession has been one of the most closed systems in existence. Social workers talked to each other, and psychiatrists talked to each other, and that was about it; interdisciplinary communication was minimal. Psychiatrists treated affluent individuals one-at-a-time, or were paid by social or governmental agencies to work with the poor with whom, generally, they could neither communicate satisfactorily nor spend enough time

for their traditional techniques to have effect. Likewise, social workers have also traditionally been paid by one group to render service to another. Thus, the client group to whom any mental health service was provided was unlikely to complain effectively that the service was poor or to insist as a political body that it get better.

But our closed system is now being broken apart by forces coming from two directions. First, the poor are beginning to find themselves in a better position to insist upon more meaningful and appropriate mental health care. The poor are virtually being forced to speak of their own situation, and being granted money for improving it. But when a group can contract for its own services, either you come across or they go elsewhere, and you go out of business. This is probably the strongest contemporary pressure on the mental health professions to develop new, more sensitive, and more successful diagnostic and treatment modalities.

In addition, a second force at work is that which arises when whole communities of middle class and wealthy parents find their own children using drugs. As professionals, we are expected to know what to do about this. Of course, that "what to do" is circumscribed for us--we have to make the kids stop using drugs. And we have to do this quietly, absolutely, and as soon as possible. Confinement, with maybe psychotherapy or authoritarianism or whatever thrown in, may have been all right for the lower-class junkies; but for the school principal's daughter or the stock-broker's son, spending 15 years in prison is unthinkable. We are asked to solve "the problem" some other way.

I am pleased with both these developments and optimistic that they will eventually bring about significant and salutary changes in mental health care, particularly in terms of ways of handling substance use. I am equally concerned, however, that over the short term there's going to be a lot of trouble. And it looks like the age group who are going to have the roughest time of it are the adolescents.

We have had many upper-class children in the city of New York in federal court on four charges: possession of narcotics, possession of works (that is, equipment to use drugs), conspiracy to sell, and selling. These are very serious charges. You can spend your life in jail on them; and if you happen to be over 21 and sell them to a minor, you can get the death penalty.

What could be done with all these people? They weren't addicts, so putting them in a hospital for detoxification was worthless. Some of them were very influential. Having caught these kids, the authorities really didn't know what to do with them. They sent some of them to us at New York Medical College, to our Urban Mental Health Center for evaluation, on the assumption that these must be very disturbed kids. You see, if they had come from Harlem or Bedford-Stuyvesant there would have been no problem at all--they would have been locked up in a minute. But because they came from certain communities like Forest Hills and Rego Park where a youngster is brought up in affluence and educated to the teeth, then to behave this way and get involved with drugs they must be very disturbed. Well, I don't think so.

I have been in close contact with two groups of young people lately. They are not in legal trouble because of substance use and most of them never will be; they are not labeled criminal or disturbed and most of them never will be. We might call them the 96% who are healthy. Their case is instructive because in many instances their substance use behavior at least is indistinguishable from the 4% who are labeled disturbed.

The first group are high school students from half a dozen private schools in New York and Connecticut. Not all of these kids are from wealthy families--quite a few are on scholarships.

The second group are college students and young instructors, particularly on the West Coast, and they represent the high school group some years older. Again the intellectual bias of the sample is stronger than the socio-economic one, although, importantly, there seem to be no really "deprived" individuals among the leadership group. These kids are by no means "juvenile delinquents" in any reasonable definition of that term. Their social behavior, however, is often significantly different from that of their parents and teachers, and this is what's causing the excitement.

At one of the high schools where we have worked extensively, we were initially invited in by the faculty and administration to investigate--to see if they really had a drug problem. We talked to all the students in the 9th and 11th grades, one class section at a time, with the teachers absent. We found that about half of the kids were using or had used drugs other than alcohol, with marijuana being the most common. Now we find that the faculty is unable to cope with this statistic; one or two out of a hundred they could handle as they

would any other instance of "deviant" behavior. Instead, they have taken refuge in disbelief, and we're having a hard time getting them to accept the real situation and behave appropriately in relation to it. The immediate problem, in other words, lies mainly with the faculty.

In California, drug use among older teenagers, the college-age group, has received national notice, and is not so much disbelieved as abhorred. It is not seen as a crisis of childhood--like smoking pot in the sixth grade--but as adolescent rebellion or dangerous social irresponsibility to the point of criminality.

I spent most of my free time during a recent professional meeting in San Francisco with these young people. Their sense of social responsibility and commitment is extraordinarily high. They are involved with each other and are concerned with moral and ethical issues to an extent which surpasses most of the "adult" community. They do not show symptoms of mental illness; they are not terribly neurotic. They do have strength and will power, often in usable form, and they are determined to exert systematically whatever influence they have toward a number of goals of social change.

The quality of their group interaction is virtually unprecedented. It seems to me that there are at least two factors at work in this that are particularly relevant to substance use. Among the younger kids, the high school age level, peer group pressure is high, as it is in any adolescent community. Since substance use is now fashionable--and this fashion, I think, is wholly independent of the adult society--there is a strong pressure on the individual youngster at least to experiment with drugs like marijuana and LSD. This is what I meant by "conformist adolescent use."

The objection is raised: "But they're just doing it for kicks or as a form of rebellion." One 11th grade girl replied to this: "It may have been that when it first started, but not anymore." I think she is right. This is an activity, accepted and encouraged by the peer group, which in addition to being a powerful aid to socializing, offers "enlightenment, self-knowledge, and expansion of consciousness." And that's more than you can say for alcohol. Whether these personal benefits in fact accrue or not is practically irrelevant in view of the overwhelmingly favorable propaganda.

Let me say that I am not condoning as healthy any acting out which happens to occur under group sponsorship. Gang-sponsored hell-raising is another order of activity altogether. Drug use itself is not directed at others. In our assessment of it we must bear this in mind; for if we are condemning or prohibiting an activity just because of its danger to the actor, then maybe mountain-climbing ought to be outlawed, too. If, on the other hand, we are condemning it not as a crime without a victim, but because in itself it represents a distinct threat to the social order, then we ought first to examine exactly how the threat is constituted and what there is in the relationship of the individual to his society that brings it about.

This is a particularly important point in relation to the older psychedelic users. They are breaking a law. Why? Not, I judge, as an act of immature rebellion, but largely as rational, considered, purposive behavior. As a dissent, that is, in a situation which they find to be senseless. The behavior is by no means retreatist, as we used to characterize the heroin use of many lower-class users; it does not even represent an "escape" into "heightened perception," for the applicability of the experience to everyday living is repeatedly emphasized.

Rather, I think, this substance use is just one aspect of an objection, strong enough to lead to action, to many conditions of contemporary society. Perhaps one reason that more vocal, street-demonstration type activity goes on in the civil rights area, for instance, is the feeling that this should be the subject of legislation, while substance use per se ought not to be ("legalize marijuana" means remove the laws against it). In this area as well as in education, civil rights, the peace movement, etc., experience with continued non-violent group action and the planned breaking of inappropriate laws has shown that change can be brought about.

To return to the second factor which is relevant to substance use by our young people. There is often among them an extraordinary sense of free community. This is different from adolescent peer group pressure toward conformity. It also seems to me to be unrelated to the kind of sub-cultural banding together one sees in small deviant groups; it does not seem to arise in counter-reaction to the bad guys in the square world. But it looks pretty strange from the outside.

After the Castalia Foundation's mansion in Millbrook was raided last week and Timothy Leary and some others were arrested, a reporter talked to the Sheriff in charge:

Q: Did they offer any resistance?

A: None at all. They were very polite.

Q: Did they act as if they had done something wrong?

A: Absolutely not. There was no indication that they felt any guilt at all. No outrage. They seemed to be perfectly at home. Of course they talked back and forth among themselves without us knowing what they were talking about, but they were very quiet and passive.

This peculiar sense of ease is not a concomitant of intoxication, nor is it condescension. It looks like a mysterious ritual to a generation generally unacquainted with its operation, but to those personally involved, this kind of communal interaction is, simply, a fine way to live.

It is not surprising that substance use, particularly of the psychedelic drugs, should be connected with this kind of strong group involvement--though I don't know which is cause and which is effect. It is true of these drugs that their use is group-dependent. Strong conditioning is bound to arise. You must be taught how to smoke marijuana and must be told what effects to expect; otherwise nothing happens. With LSD, characteristics of a trip and often the individual's own safety are dependent on others. Thus, with these substances the quality of the experience of the drug itself is largely dependent upon the people with whom it is used.

One of the greatest problems we face in trying to understand substance use in this context is that there is no communication between us and our children on the subject. ("They talked back and forth among themselves without us knowing what they were talking about.") We can manage to talk about sex now, but not drugs. The funny thing about this is that the kids have more factual knowledge about the drugs than their parents do. All the adults can think of is to forbid it. The discussion which should be occurring here just can't get going, and one reason is that the younger generation knows more than the older generation. It's like trying to talk to your kid about the New Math--only it's a lot worse, because the New Math isn't a criminal offense.

Let me summarize the two main points I have made. First, there is a type of substance use, particularly of marijuana and the hallucinogens, which is extraordinarily prevalent among middle- and upper-class teenagers today. This is conformist adolescent use, and it is not associated with psychiatric disorder. Second, among

many older adolescents and young adults, drug use is but one facet not of rebellion, but of dissent; not of social irresponsibility and immorality, but of adherence to a set of rational and humane tenets, quite like those upon which, in theory, our democracy is founded, but which are not infrequently rather contrary to the way we actually do business. There is, in addition, an almost total lack of knowledge about and understanding of this phenomenon on the part of those of us not directly participating in it.

We certainly understand enough to know that several dozen admissions to hospitals for short-term acute psychoses associated with LSD use do, in fact, constitute a "problem." But we are not going to reduce this number by methods currently in use: adolescent substance use is simply not subject to legislative elimination. It probably is, however, subject to integration into an overall social pattern that we can live comfortably with.

PRESENTATION BEFORE CONFERENCE ON
SUBSTANCE ABUSE PRACTICES AMONG ADOLESCENTS

by

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My responsibility at this conference is to hold up the biomedical end of things; consequently, I should like to review with you two medical aspects of this problem which I feel bear discussion since they have been subject to considerable controversy and/or misunderstanding. Then, I should like to tell you something of our experiences with a long, in-depth study of the problem of solvent sniffing among children and adolescents.

If I may refer you to a chart which was prepared for this purpose, I should like first to make certain observations with regard to the pharmacology of substance abuse. The substances about which we are concerned are abused because of their psychedelic, or mind-distorting, properties. By their very nature, all psychedelic substances are potentially habituating, such that continued use may produce psychic dependence. In addition, almost all such substances produce a degree of tolerance, such that ever-increasing quantities are required to produce the effect desired by the user. These three items: mind-distortion, habituation and tolerance, which are certainly sufficient to give rise to concern, are the only characteristics which are shared by all such abused substances. The fact that the various abused substances otherwise differ in their effects has been responsible for the tendency of many to fragment the problem of substance abuse in a manner which, in my view, is undesirable. To illustrate what I mean, if you refer to the table, you will note that few of the commonly abused psychedelic substances are "addicting" in the sense of producing physical dependence. Thus, if one adopts "addiction" as the principal or sole criterion of undesirability he would "miss the boat" as far as many extremely undesirable practices are concerned. LSD, marijuana and amphetamines, for example, do not produce physical dependence. From the practical standpoint, it seems irrelevant to me whether a substance produces physical dependence when it has some of the other properties under discussion; aside from the fact that it may make treatment somewhat more difficult, the issue of physical dependence is otherwise rather beside the point. Apropos another point of departure used by some to fragment this problem, the term "judgment disorganization" has reference here to the development of completely disordered and totally unrealistic reasoning capacity, and not just to the type of impaired judgment that usually follows the intake of conventional quantities of alcohol. Certainly, this element together with the ability to produce psychotic reactions (as evidenced by

hallucinations) are extremely important, and any substance which produces such effects and tends to be abused should be a matter of concern to us, whether or not the substance is also "addicting," produces drunkenness, or what have you. On the other hand, the failure of a substance to produce disorganized or psychotic behavior should not be allowed to erase our concern. Barbiturates and narcotics, for example, rarely produce such effects and yet they must be of concern to us from the standpoint of their addicting potentialities. Similarly, anything which produces significant motor impairment (by that I mean impairment in the ability to function physically while under the influence) is of potential concern, but this, too, is not common to all psychedelic materials. Finally, the possibility of long-term toxicity from continued use of some of these materials is real, indeed, and this is obviously a matter for concern. Again, however, its absence should not be allowed to give a "clean bill of health" to the material in question.

The point I am trying to make is this: In my view, it is important that we consider the constituent parts of the substance abuse problem in proper perspective and in relationship to one another. Any efforts to solve the problem must take into account the overall picture if they are to be effective. Designation of particular substances as being causes for concern should only follow a preliminary decision as to what effects are deemed undesirable. The presence or absence of any single effect should not be allowed to override a considered judgment based upon the overall picture.

In specific reference to solvent sniffing I should like again to plead for a consideration of the overall problem in proper perspective. Because the epidemic fad of a few years ago involved plastic glue preparations there has been a widespread tendency to consider "glue-sniffing" as an isolated phenomenon. The popularity of such products continues, largely because of the ease of concealment and the ability of children to obtain the material for presumably legitimate purposes, but it is important to recognize that virtually any fat-soluble, volatile organic solvent is capable of producing similar effects. Indeed, a large number of preparations, some of which are enumerated on the table to which I just made reference, are being abused by children for their intoxicating effects. In fact, in our area many former "glue-sniffers" have now shifted to the use of lacquer thinners containing toluene because a larger quantity can be obtained for the same price. Toluene, which is the most desired ingredient in the popular plastic glue preparations, is a constituent of a large number of other products. Furthermore, such other

solvents as acetone, naphtha, benzene, several types of acetates and a number of chlorinated hydrocarbons are abused by numerous individuals either solely or as a substitute for plastic glue preparations when the latter cannot be obtained. In fact, among the myriad of organic solvents which are capable of producing the intoxication of the type desired by the adolescent abuser, toluene is probably the safest. These facts are important to take into account in any efforts, particularly legislative ones, to control this problem. It is not my intent to "whitewash" the plastic cement preparations, but rather to indicate that they are not only in good company as offenders, but that they are less undesirable, from the medical standpoint, than some of their alternatives. Thus, it is important, I believe, that any success obtained in combatting the glue-sniffing problem not be at the expense of increased usage of other materials.

Another area of confusion or controversy has to do with the medical effects of solvent sniffing. These can vary, of course, depending upon the particular solvent which is involved. Some solvents, such as certain of the chlorinated hydrocarbons and benzene can be associated with widespread and very serious damage to a number of organ systems and, like gasoline and naphtha, may occasionally be responsible for sudden death due to effects upon the heart. On the other hand, there are fewer evidences of organic damage from the more popular solvents such as toluene. Despite the allegations of some, there is little evidence that chronic sniffing of toluene results in damage to the bone marrow. In four series including our own there were no instances of significant anemia among chronic toluene sniffers; on the other hand, Sokol in Los Angeles found some anemia in 22% of his subjects. This is not surprising, however, in view of the population with which he was dealing, and establishing a causal relationship to the sniffing activities has been tenuous at best. The finding by the same worker of slightly reduced numbers of lymphocytes and increased numbers of eosinophiles in some patients is without real medical significance. The finding of pus cells in the urine has been the most consistent abnormality in our own studies and in those of most workers. This often is accompanied by the presence of protein in the urine. Its significance as yet remains unknown. These abnormalities appear to be transient and to disappear when exposure to the solvent ceases, and they are not accompanied by evidences of abnormal kidney function. Thus, it is unknown at present whether the urinary findings reflect a transient, irritative effect of the chemical upon the kidneys or are a foreboding of permanent kidney damage. The claim that liver damage

results from toluene sniffing is not well substantiated: Neither we nor most other workers have found evidence of impaired liver function, although occasional transient enlargement of the liver has been noted. Similarly, the fear that brain damage may result has not been borne out by objective findings. Certainly, there are electroencephalographic abnormalities during the period of the toluene intoxication and there is some evidence that there may also be an increase in spinal fluid pressure at such times; however, measurable residual organic brain damage has not been noted. On the other hand, there is a startling degree of personality deterioration in some chronic toluene sniffers, but this has not had a measurable physiologic or physical corollary. Finally, recent allegations that toluene sniffing may result in the late development of leukemia are entirely without foundation. Such claims are based upon some experiences in Europe with industrial exposure not to toluene, but to benzene. The assumption is made that toluene might do the same thing because it is structurally related to benzene. However, such an extrapolation is as unwarranted as would be similar claims concerning phenol (one of our most popular disinfectants), benzoic acid (a common food preservative) or aspirin, all of which are equally closely related structurally to benzene.

Please understand that the foregoing was not meant to minimize the undesirability of chronic toluene sniffing. But the potentialities for the individual and for society are devastating enough without resort to fancies or unsubstantiated fears. Failure to consider these problems factually is, in my opinion, one of the most important obstacles to their solution. Furthermore, indulgence in rumor mongering or the perpetuation of myths with regard to these practices can result directly in considerable harm. For instance, the allegations relative to the causation of leukemia have already resulted in the fear of some parents that the legitimate use of plastic cements by their children in connection with hobbies is to be avoided. Also, parents who have solvent-sniffing children have enough to worry about with the true facts, and hardly need be "scared out of their wits" by other data.

Our psychologic and sociologic studies of solvent sniffers have generally verified the findings of other studies, particularly the superb one by Mr. Sterling in Chicago, and the excellent ones which have been performed here. Consequently, I shall not reiterate the findings except to point out one observation which may be additive to the existing body of information. In Salt Lake City we have our share of the indigent and underprivileged and we have a significant

representation, though perhaps less than our share, of minority ethnic groups. However, we do not have large concentrations of the underprivileged in isolated areas nor do we have the large areas of segregated minority groups that one would expect for a city of its size, except for the oriental elements who are rarely involved in this or any other type of anti-social behavior. For this reason, the composition of our solvent sniffing habitué group was quite different from that described by others. Certainly, the group on the average was on the underprivileged side, but poverty was not a pervading phenomenon, indeed was not even usual, in our subjects. Moreover, in contrast to other studies, most of our subjects were not from minority ethnic groups. We therefore were in a position of being able to evaluate the role of certain other factors which perhaps were obscured by poverty and ethnic considerations in other studies. Without reviewing the relevant observations in detail at this time, let me point out that the most striking observation was suggestive that being underprivileged (in the material sense) like the sniffing itself, is a symptom of a more fundamental problem rather than a cause of sniffing and perhaps other forms of anti-social behavior. The basic defect or "common denominator" we found to be emotional deprivation and, more specifically, father deprivation. Whether it be by virtue of alcoholism, actual physical absence from the home or preoccupation with business or personal affairs, the fathers of our sniffers (who were all boys) were missing from their sons' lives insofar as any effective relationship was concerned. This potentially etiologic factor has so overshadowed all others in our experience that I would like to leave it with you, in closing, for whatever it may be worth to our discussion of this important problem.

EFFECTS OF PSYCHEDELIC SUBSTANCES

<u>Substance</u>	<u>Source(s)</u>	<u>Hallucin- ations</u>	<u>Judgement dis- organization</u>	<u>Motor im- pairment</u>	<u>Physical Dependence</u>	<u>Long-term Toxicity</u>
LSD (also LSM)	Synthesized (Morning glory seeds)	+++	+++	±	-	? Brain damage; prolonged psychosis
Mescaline	Peyote (cactus)	+++	++	-	-	? Persistent mood changes
Psylocybin	Mushrooms	++	++	-	-	? Persistent mood changes
Myristicin	Nutmeg	++	++	+	-	Liver and kidney damage
Marihuana	Hemp plant	+	++	±	-	Insidious personality effects
Belladonna	Jimson weed, mushrooms	++	++	++	-	
Organic Solvents: Toluene	Plastic cement, lacquer thinner	++	++	++	±	? Kidney damage
Naphtha or gasoline	Lighter or cleaning fluid, gasoline					Sudden death (otherwise unknown)
Acetone	Cements, fingernail polish remover					Unknown
Chlorinated hydrocarbons	Dry cleaners, etc.					Liver, kidney damage; sudden death

EFFECTS OF PSYCHEDELIC SUBSTANCES (continued)

<u>Substance</u>	<u>Source(s)</u>	<u>Hallucin-</u> <u>ations</u>	<u>Judgement dis-</u> <u>organization</u>	<u>Motor im-</u> <u>pairment</u>	<u>Physical</u> <u>Dependence</u>	<u>Long-term</u> <u>Toxicity</u>
Benzene	(General solvent)					Liver, kidney, bone marrow damage; sudden death
Amphetamines (also, mephentermine)	Drug (nasal inhalers)	+	+	<u>+</u>	-	
Alcohol		-	<u>+</u>	+	+	Cirrhosis, neurologic disorders
Barbiturates, tranquilizers		-	<u>+</u>	++	++	
Narcotics		-	<u>+</u>	-	+++	

SUBSTANCE ABUSE--A FORM OF PUBERTY
DELINQUENCY--AS A PROBLEM OF CRIMINAL LAW POLICY

by

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The organizers of the National Conference on Substance Abuse, wisely or unwisely, have included a criminal law theoretician among the invitees. A theoretician, or an academician, of the criminal law, views the national problem of glue sniffing, or other substance abuses, among youngsters, as a problem of criminal law policy. He will ask himself a triple set of questions:

1. Is the problem of substance abuse a big enough societal evil to warrant the interference of government at all?
2. If it is a big societal evil, does it warrant the intervention of penal law, in other words, the heavy guns or the B-52s, of society?
3. If it be decided to use the penal law, can an effective intervention be expected?

Those only superficially acquainted with the problem of glue sniffing, have assumed it to be a bane for the youth of our nation. After reading the materials assembled by the preparatory work of the conference staff, and after listening to the papers presented so far, we can no longer be convinced that this is so. There certainly seems to be very little biochemical danger in this form of substance abuse, and the social-developmental evil is, as yet, only tentatively described.

Yet, on much less evidence than we have today, with greater alarm than behooves rational legislators, city ordinances governing substance abuse have already been enacted in countless U.S. cities, along with state statutes in eight jurisdictions prohibiting glue sniffing and similar practices. I shall review these statutes briefly:

1. California, which is leading the nation in so many things these days, has a statutory "poison" labelling requirement which

unquestionably helps youngsters to identify the "goodies" more easily.¹ Naturally, sales restrictions apply to such "poison" marked substances.²

2. The statutes of Maine³ and Maryland⁴ are in the next category. These statutes simply make certain vapor inhalations criminal. Maine, in typical New England economy, takes only 3-1/2 lines of print to outlaw vapor inhalation, and imposes a maximum punishment of eleven months imprisonment in another two lines. Maryland's statute reads as if drafted by amateurs, but seeks to accomplish the same purpose. Its list of substances includes fingernail polish, model airplane glue, and other chemicals. Again, these statutory lists of "goodies" simply may help the kids identify the substances. Fortunately, not many of those youngsters subscribe to the session laws of their legislatures. But what have those legislatures done? They have made substance abuse a criminal offense, subject to imprisonment for considerable periods of time. They have made substance abuse an adult crime. Now we know of course that adults do not sniff glue. [And if any do it is statistically insignificant.] It is thirteen year old kids which these legislatures threaten to send to the penitentiary. This is just as assinine as using B-52s to bomb a few fox holes in Viet Nam. Of course, we know fully well, that no child will go to prison for sniffing glue. The threat of punishment is an idle gesture.

3. The remaining six statutes all prohibit sniffing as well as possession and sale. I would like to call them, for short, the "smell and sell" statutes, or the "sale and inhale" laws. Two of them are directed only against glues and adhesives--New York⁵ and Louisiana.⁶ The statutes were so hastily enacted that the

¹California Business and Professions Code §4160, Schedule D.

²Id., §§4162, 4164.

³Maine Stat. Title 17 §3475.

⁴Maryland Code Ann. Art. 27 §313A.

⁵N. Y. Penal Law §1747-f.

⁶La. Rev. Stat. 14:§93.1, Acts, 1966.

draftsmen and legislators could not but make some rather serious errors. In New York, by some legislative oversight, it is possible for a boy between sixteen and twenty-one who has sniffed glue, to be sent away for three years, while a girl may be sent away for only five days.⁷ That raises a neat equal protection question for glue sniffers, which a former student and colleague of mine is already raising in the New York courts.

Louisiana's statute means to be very tough. It allows only parents and guardians to provide youngsters below 21 with glues. This statute is frankly unenforceable unless we station a detective in every parental home. It is also ineffective, I surmise, for the reason that glue is a dime store item which cannot be subject to effective control.

The Massachusetts legislature has violated one of the cardinal principles of draftsmanship in criminal law when it placed into a substantive penal provision a rule of procedure authorizing arrests without warrants and twenty-four hour detention for youngsters caught in the process of glue sniffing. These precedural provisions, materially departing from regular criminal procedure, have thus been placed far removed from the procedure code from which the police officer gets his guidance in law enforcement!⁸

The New Jersey statute is particularly noteworthy and, quite frankly, silly.⁹ It prohibits smelling as well as suspicious sales, and makes violators status offenders namely "disorderly persons." Happily for the medical profession in New Jersey, M.D.'s may use glues for anasthetic and other medical purposes. This, I suppose, makes it quite legal for New Jersey doctors to mend the broken bones of their patients with Elmer's Glue, or to put them to sleep on the operating table with Duco.

⁷ Compare §2184-a N. Y. P. L., authorizing 3 year reformatory sentences for "offenses," in the case of male adolescents, with §2187, N. Y. P. L., not authorizing such sentences for "offenses," so that, in the case of females, the statutory limit of five days applies. N. Y. P. L. §1747-f.

⁸ Mass. Acts 1966, ch. 318.

⁹ N. J. Stat. Ann. 1966, 2A:170-25, 9-14.

The most beautifully ridiculous statute against smelling and selling is that of Illinois.¹⁰ It provides:

No person shall breathe . . . any compound . . .
containing . . . any substance . . . for the purpose of . . .
in any manner changing . . . mental processes. . . .¹¹

The fragrances of a good Dutch Sumatra cigar, the bouquet of Remy-Martin Cognac, the wonderful femininity-enhancing fragrances of Lanvin or Ma Griffe, even the innocent smell of an innocent little nosegay of violets, designed to change by scent the mental process toward love and affection, are criminal contraband in Illinois.

The effect of all of these statutes is bound to be criminal, I dare predict, although I have little empirical evidence to prove any point. We cannot legislate a problem out of existence of which glue sniffing is only an insignificant surface symptom. What are we trying to fight here with the criminal sanction? Thirteen year old boys, engaged in a fad which like many other fads, has swept the country from coast to coast, and which will probably be forgotten by 1970. What will not be forgotten, however, is the underlying problem of adolescence, which lies at the root of our fad. A thirteen year old boy is an extremely disturbed kid--and that is normal. If he is not disturbed, he is not normal. A thirteen year old boy is at the height of puberty. He is torn asunder because he can no longer understand himself and his family. He is beginning to learn about sex. He is beginning to feel a budding in his own tissues, and he does not know what to do about it. He needs an outlet for his energies. It has been suggested by previous speakers that glue sniffing may well have sexual implications. I am asking myself the same question. You know what we did as thirteen year old boys? You may remember the cars in the 1930s. They had hood flaps which were on central hinges. Do you remember? There were little rubber washers in between the flaps to prevent them from damaging each other when opened. These little gadgets looked like pistol cartridges. They were round cylindrical shafts, with a little ball on top. One does not have to be a psychoanalyst to realize that this is a phallic symbol. These rubber things were imbedded in

¹⁰Smith-Hurd, Ill. Stat. Ann. vol. 38, §81.

¹¹Id., §81-1.

holes on the hoods. We pulled them out, and it was a relief to pull these rubber things out of those holes. You may remember, or you may not, that there was hardly a car in the United States and Europe which did not have these little rubber things missing. Well, they were taken by thirteen year old boys.

I would now like to report on a little empirical study which we conducted at New York University, into a very similar problem.¹² It is very much like the studies involving glue sniffing. It concerns a fad which started in 1958, on the East Coast, and which--as we found out later--involved thirteen year old boys. It started very simply. I own a little Volkswagen, 1954 model, now with 192,000 miles on it. This old Volkswagen has a coat of arms placed way up front, at the bottom of the body, right in the middle, between the wheels. This symbol was stolen from my Volkswagen. It irked me and I tried to find out what happened to it. I looked at my commuter parking lot, and noticed that of fourteen Volkswagens standing there, thirteen had the symbol missing. What was going on? I went to the nearby police station, very near the Junior High School, and I told the police about it. "My coat of arms was stolen from the Volkswagen." "Your what?" "Well, my crest, you know, from the Volkswagen." "It was stolen?" "How much is it worth?" "I don't know, \$1, \$2, \$3 maybe." "How come you came to us to report the theft of a \$3 item?" "Look here, all these cars have been de-crested." "If we see one running around, we'll call you, don't call us."

Then I went to my Volkswagen agency and tried to buy another one. The parts manager laughed. He said "you can't get those things. We sold out on them. The kids take them." "What kids?" "Well, over at the junior high." "What do you think they do with them?" "We don't know what they do with them." "Do they re-sell them?" "No, they have no re-sale value." I learned that parts managers are a very peculiar species of people indeed. They keep books on everything. My orderly German VW parts manager had kept books on each sale of one of those little coats of arms. The first sale was, let us say, January, 1958. The next one in February, then March and so it went. He commented:

¹²The only publication to date on this research project is Anthony, "Who's Afraid of the Wolfsburg Crest," V(2), Automobile Quarterly 146 (Fall, 1966).

"For a while we could get these replacements from further away, from the next town." But then they ran out." At this point it began to get interesting, so I asked for a foundation grant in the amount of \$600.00 to employ one of my students during the summer as a research assistant. A small foundation received my application. The Board of Directors--can you imagine the Board of Directors sitting around the table--roared out loud: "Mueller has finally flipped his lid. Somebody stole his Volkswagen crest and he wants \$600.00 to find out who did it and why." They laughed so hard they gave us the money. We next went to "Volkswagen of America" and asked them for sales records on their replacement crests. And we got them all. Each Volkswagen agency in the United States had statistics on all sales. In 1958 the fad hit New York. Then it travelled the route of the Lackawanna Railroad, and all the other commuter lines. When it reached the commuter radius, it stopped. A few weeks later it jumped to the next city, where again it would start at the core and then travel out to the suburbs. Half a year later it reached Washington. In a year and a half it reached Texas. One year from the start it had reached Florida. It took a little over a year to reach Chicago. By "reaching" I refer to all significant aspects of the fad: first replacement sales, peak and decline. It took two years to reach Denver and it took 2-1/2 years to reach Seattle and the California cities.

This had become an exciting problem. We now wanted to find out how many of these crests were involved, because after all, the replacement sales were running into a few hundred thousand. We wanted to find out how many VW's there were in the United States, and how many of these had been de-crested. Well, whenever I took a trip I took a local short-stop plane, got off, went to the neighborhood shopping centers, and counted local Volkswagens. People thought by now I had really gone mad, counting Volkswagens all over the U.S.A. The same picture revealed itself all over, of 14 Volkswagens, 13 had no crest (except in Las Vegas, Nevada, a matter which I cannot explain). All my friends who traveled across the country counted Volkswagens for me. Some have gotten so deeply into the habit that they cannot stop, and are still counting. We came to the conclusion that as many as 750,000 of those crests had been stolen all over the U.S.A., at a cost of about three million dollars, with an even higher figure for property damages. Of these loss-through-crime figures, the police departments knew nothing at all. If, therefore, for the discovery

of this juvenile delinquency fad, involving thirteen year old boys, we had relied on police statistics (as you have done with glue sniffing), we would not know anything about it at all. And now another little surprise--our perpetrators came from relatively well-to-do areas. There are no Volkswagens in Harlem. But there are plenty in the suburbs and all areas of two car families generally.

Well now, what does that have to do with glue sniffing? We obtained some psychoanalytic interviews of the boys involved and we found out why they did it. Nobody gave us a direct answer. The boys did not know why they did it. But we always got the same impression: There was a sense of excitement and relief in approaching one of those cute little bugs and tearing or prying the crest off. The boys carried these things away. They always acted alone, never in groups. They would show these crests furtively to each other in class, at school. And then we did a somewhat unfair thing: we notified a few police departments indirectly, all across the United States, in order to get some reactions: Among the police departments notified was the police department in the fair city of Grand Junction, Colorado. The Grand Junction Sentinel of June 21, 1962, reports as follows:

EMBLEM THIEVES FACE CRACKDOWN BY CITY POLICE

Increasing evidence of a national trend in the theft of emblems from the front hoods of Volkswagens prompted Grand Junction officers to launch a crackdown today on the latest twist in the vandalism which has plagued the area in the last two months.

"We are looking for anything displaying an emblem as a belt buckle, a string tie clasp," Police Lt. Ras Ingram said. "If they're picked up--and they will be--they'll have some explaining to do."

Police have received only five complaints thus far from Volkswagen drivers but Patuso Motors reports a waiting list of forty emblem orders.¹³

¹³Grand Junction, Colo., Sentinel, June 21, 1962.

I will stop here and fill the rest in orally. In fact, some of our indirectly notified police officers of the juvenile squads, acting with permission of the school principals, went into the junior high schools and told the boys right off: "We know what you have been doing. We will give you till tomorrow morning. Bring the Volkswagen emblems back." And they came back the next morning. One kid had a brown paper bag with 70 of them in it. Incidentally, in those cities where the police did intervene, the fad stopped. In neighboring communities the fad went on.

Again I ask the question, what did this have to do with glue sniffing? Let me explain what this emblem looks like: [Maybe you should close your eyes in order to visualize it.] In the center is an open black gate. It is flanked by two massive white towers, with a suggestive ripple of water in between. Above the open gate is a red wolf, with his tail erect. Again, I do not think one has to be a psychoanalyst to realize that there could not be a more suggestive depiction of the female sex organ. Did the kids realize that? Of course, they did not know what it is. But they must have sensed it. As I said before, these kids are sexually disturbed--and that is normal. They have a pent-up energy which must find an outlet. It came out with the VW crests. They experienced a sigh of relief in de-cresting the hood.

Well now, we made an interesting discovery about a fad of juvenile delinquency, involving thirteen year old boys. What did we propose to do about it? Was legislation the answer? A statute imposing three years imprisonment for de-cresting a Volkswagen? (Which is larceny anyway--if committed by an adult.) We did, of course, send a full report to the Volkswagen Company in Wolfsburg. Four weeks later the VWs rolled off the assembly line--without a crest. We received a kind letter, telling us, that the design change, naturally had nothing to do with the fad--or our study--naturally.

Naturally, what is the answer to any national problem? VW de-cresting or glue sniffing? Ethnologists, and psycho-analytically inclined anthropologists provided us with the clue for our answer. In the writings of Mead¹⁴ and Bettelheim¹⁵ we find reports about the initiation rites of the aborigines of Micronesia.

¹⁴ Mead, *Male and Female* (1949).

¹⁵ Bettelheim, *Puberty, Symbolic Wounds and the Envious Male* (1954).

One of the predominant phases of the puberty initiation rites for boys is the following: the boy, painted and masked and equipped with weapons, approaches a huge female figure, to which is attached a huge symbolic vagina. The young warrior, about to be initiated, has to tear off this symbol of magic because--so he is told by older warriors--the gods have unjustly given this source of magic and power to woman. And man must take it back. Man's desire is real--what he gets, however, is a substitute!

These very primitive people understood the sexual worries of the boy at the age of puberty, and they have found a socially acceptable, a community-sanctioned, means of alleviating puberty anxieties. Apparently, we have become so awfully civilized as no longer to be able to care for our young boys when they most need care.

What is the answer to the puzzling problems which puberty delinquency will pose in the setting of modern society? Will we be forced to return to the methods which our ancestors used for coping with delinquency disturbances? We certainly cannot outlaw puberty. Should we enact statutes prohibiting the many forms in which puberty delinquency will manifest itself? We would have to enact one statute after another against every new fad and form of puberty delinquency. Or should we try to channelize the excess energy of puberty into socially acceptable and constructive channels of behavior? Private groups and government sponsored projects, church-affiliated organizations or neighborhood agencies, and fathers and mothers had better begin worrying about that question. Legislation is not the answer.

GLUE SNIFFING: EXPLORATORY HYPOTHESES ON THE
PSYCHOSOCIAL DYNAMICS OF RESPIRATORY INTRAJECTION

by

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I have been asked to talk to you about a syndrome which we are confronting with increasing frequency in a very young population--a behavior pattern which goes by the name of glue sniffing. In order to do so, I shall, with your permission, try to present first, a perspective I find useful in approaching this topic, a perspective I have also used in related inquiries.

I've done some studies of the "substance" scene--participant studies. I went out into the street and lived there and "dug" the scene--the subculture--using an anthropological approach, not bothering to analyze what I was doing while I was doing it--then, about 6 months later, putting on my professional mind and writing it all down. I did the same sort of thing with the LSD subculture, and, before that, a similar study of "the beats."

As you can see from the title, I'm still engaged in what you might call the exploratory stages of a project--reading everything in sight, picking people's brains, thinking about it, going to sleep with worries and waking up with answers that I don't understand, etc. We're trying to do something about some glue sniffing problems on Long Island, which involve middle class, and lower-upper class kids who are involved not only in glue but (and I think this is characteristic of the whole field of substance abuse) the whole subculture of pharmacophilia, or the desire to use pharmacological agents. The variety of substances is beginning to resemble a well stocked bar. For example, if some people come to your house, you give them what they want depending on the kind of mood they're in. If they've been out playing tennis they want a tall gin--if they've just had dinner they want Armagnac or a punchy brandy or something like that. The drug scene is getting to be like that. The kids are getting to be quite hip. They are developing a pharmacological "bar." There are substances which they will use on specific occasions for specific effects. Nevertheless research design calls for measuring one input variable on another input variable so we're just going to study glue in this particular population although we are aware of its context. So I've put together some exploratory ideas. I've responded to an invitation to make some psychoanalytic noises which I love to do because it confounds the anomie theoreticians.

The Narcotic Scene

I don't have a written paper, but I have some notes from which I'll attempt to speak. They're in three stages. I'll say something about the narcotic perspective because there are some things in it which are similar in the glue population. Then I'll talk more specifically about some of the characteristics of the glue population. Then I'll try to make some theoretical sense.

Personality Characteristics. To plunge into the narcotics scene--in summary, it is, by comparison, very well studied. We know a lot about narcotics and not terribly much about glue. The most recent authoritative compendium on narcotics, "The Road to H" (by Isadore Chein and his associates), informs us about the personality characteristics of addicts. They are usually weak-egoed adolescents; there is defective super-ego formation; there are inadequate and, sometimes less adequate masculine identifications; they have poor future orientations. In my opinion, they also tend to experience what Sandor Rado referred to as the "alimentary orgasm." That's the feeling of orgasm except higher--in the gut--not in the genitals.

Family Characteristics. We know that addicts tend to come from broken families, that these are matrifocal, if not matriarchal. There is either an absent or a tyrant father figure which fulfills the Chein paradigm. And, most of the known narcotics users in the country, in large percentages are of Negro, Puerto Rican, Mexican, or Spanish-American ethnicities.

Sub-Cultural Characteristics. These include, as you know, urban ghetto residence; i. e., highly alienated, low socio-economic status, high unemployment, low educational expectations (that is, they don't expect to get much school but if you ask them how much they hope for--a good deal. Spergel has written a whole book about that). There is a narcotics subculture. It has its own language. It has its own argot--"turn on," "fix," "shoot," "spike," "nail," etc.

But there are some differences between the narcotics people and other subcultures. I know you've been burdened with a list of substances that people use, but I'm going to put them into some classes. I've put together (1) pot, with hashish, mescaline, peyote, and the simple hallucinogens. These trigger pretty

pictures. Then there's (2) LSD, psilocybin, DMT, . . . and a whole bunch of psychedelics. These are trips. You take off not only with pictures but with feelings. And then there are (3) the amphetamines about which we've just heard. They are variously called Dex, speedballs and in that same category I'd put coke (Cocaine). These are known in the argot of contemporary junkies as "ups" or "speeds." Then there's (4) the whole business of tranquilizers which are to me symbolically very interesting because of the way the tranquilizer revolution came about. Medical directors on the staffs of "mental hospitals"--so called--found they were crowded and were besieged by a huge population explosion and the drugs were very good as order-makers. The same sort of thing is taking place in the city, in the streets. The streets are crowded and there's alienation out there and the enforcement personnel are feeling besieged and put upon, so the kids are taking drugs, medicating themselves. And then, last but not least, we have (5) cigarettes, alcohol, coffee, coca-cola--all of which in varying degrees, develop high levels of what is technically called habituation, but I would argue for emotional dependence, alcohol works this way too. However, the fact that we have six million known alcoholics in this country, and only about 300,000 people on the junk scene, raises some questions about social priorities. Why are we so disturbed about one and not the other?

The Glue Scene

The similar personality, family, and sub-cultural characteristics in the glue scene which have emerged from the literature are as follows, as far as I can make out: The high which is brought about by the glue sniff resembles the alcohol high more than any other high, but there is a rather extensive literature on the fact that kids are also using gasoline, ether, toluene, lighter fluid (2 cases of lighter fluid addiction are reported in a British Medical Journal). An extensive bibliography available from the U.S. Poison control center, documents the impression that there seems to be an endless list of substances which kids can use to "get high."

We've had a review of the Damage literature so I won't go into that at all. But I would say that from reported studies, the indications are that people who are sniffing glue tend to go on to alcohol, not to drugs.

Personality Characteristics. Now as to the personality characteristics of the glue-user, to the extent that we know him, the major thrust of the literature is that we are not here dealing with an adolescent problem. We are dealing with a pre-adolescent problem, with kids who are 9, 10 and 11 years old. And that is not adolescence. It seems to be a specifically pubescent difficulty, not a post-pubescent, or a latency-adolescent sort of thing. It's not so much that they have damaged or defective super-egos as they have extremely immature super-egos. There are also incomplete male identifications--not just defective ones but incomplete ones, as evidenced by the fact that reports of glue parties show a high incidence of heterosexual and homosexual play, but not intercourse. Finally, filling out Chein's paradigm, the future orientations of the glue-sniffers seem to be even more fragmented and incomplete, partly because they're much younger.

Family Characteristics. Now, the family characteristics of the glue sniffers (there's a nice paper on this in the American Journal of Psychiatry by Ackerly): He notes that sniffers come from broken families, which are similarly matrifocal if not matriarchal. There is either an absent or a tyrant father figure. A good deal of the literature reports on the Spanish-American subculture. It is classically known that in the Latin cultures, there is a more permissive mother figure--she's far more indulgent, even to the point of overprotection. Furthermore, in the Spanish culture there is a tradition known as machismo, that is to say, a man is supposed to be strong and potent, he is supposed to be an extraordinary male. It is expected that he will be so, because his father is an extraordinary male. But there's the great paradox in the Spanish-American glue-sniffers: they are expected simultaneously to be machos, but there is no macho-model (i.e., strong father figure) so this is machismo without a macho. It's a little tough to do. (Some of these ideas are in a very readable book Oscar Lewis has just put out--La Vita--you will find there documentation for this machismo idea.) I just want to say in summary of this point, that the meaning of a boy baby and the meaning of a man is quite different in the Spanish-American culture from what it is in the Negro-American culture. This difference will have to be considered in some of the psychoanalytic ideas I will mention later on.

Sub-Cultural Characteristics. There are a few tentative generalizations in this area, which are similar but they are not identical to the narcotics scene. For example, we know that there are similar urban ghetto indices, i.e., alienation. However, we must balance this by saying that, either because we don't have full reporting, or because we are counting the wrong heads, there seem to be a lot of suburban middle class kids sniffing glue. This parallels the rising known incidence of middle class and suburban delinquencies, but we don't know if these figures are related. With that reservation, there are some differential characteristics of glue versus narcotics use.

Differential Characteristics. With glue sniffing, there is no use of a spike or a nail. There's no mainlining; there is instead pouring some glue into a cloth which is then put onto the face. Sometimes they both put the cloths on the face and then wrap themselves in a plastic bag from the dry cleaners, or other cellophane bags, tie the bag around the head, and walk around with that for a few minutes. There's a rather instantaneous euphoria, with gradually increasing incoordination. The difficulty with that method is that one can pass out with the bag on, and it can turn into a lethal experience. While I'm not an alarmist, clearly, this can be dangerous. Some people have reported in the literature (medical people, psychiatric people, and others, presumably well-qualified), that it is possible to use the term addiction, for glue-sniffing; i.e., to say that a physical dependency develops. There are blood and urine measures to test for addiction; also there is the matter of withdrawal symptoms such that removal of availability of the substance leads to a withdrawal syndrome.

It should be noted, however, that there is a considerable literature growing, which holds that the withdrawal syndrome is really an acted out birth trauma; that the problem of physical dependence needs to be re-thought; that withdrawal is "just" an excuse for acting out some separation anxiety. I don't know about that "just." Sniffers develop tolerance, as you know. There is euphoria, but unlike the narcotics scene, you develop locomotor incoordination, whereas with narcotics you sort of "cool it" someplace, and "goof." With glue, there are perceptual problems (e.g., double vision) that are not as frequently encountered in the narcotics scene. There is no doubt from the literature and from the few cases I have interviewed that there is psychological

dependency (habituation). And, as we've heard, the dangers of the medical aspect seem to have been inflated in the public mind and are not reflected in the published medical literature. There is, in addition, a sociological difficulty: the price of glue, the availability of glue and the social status of glue are significantly different than the corresponding aspects of narcotic drugs. Hence, one of the things that I would like to investigate is what I would call "iatrogenic backlash." Iatrogenesis refers to an illness caused by the curing person. Society in its efforts to get rid of the terrible bane of heroin and also pot and various other illegal substances, has made it rather difficult for people to use these substances. It now seems that youngsters are turning to those which are not as illegal, or as difficult to get, which are then said to produce equivalent "horrors." I think we need to investigate this aspect of "legal deference."

Theoretical Approaches

From that basic summary of the comparison of the narcotics scene and the glue scene what do we really want to know? There are two things that I want to know, and I hope you share my curiosity. The first question is the epidemiological question: Why are glue sniffers younger than typical addicts? But even if one were able to produce figures, and I think one can do so, that the youth subculture is growing, that is, that it is getting younger and older, that there is a bigger age-range in the youth subculture, even if that is so, even if you can show why there is more deviance in younger ages--we still have the clinical question of choice of symptom. In other words, why glue? I don't think the anomie theorists answer this question.

I will present some guidelines for answers to these questions. The first question: Why are they younger? is not so hard because there is a wealth of sociological literature on why the youth subculture is larger. The second question is tougher. There we need clinical insight.

Sub-Cultural Theory. There are a number of writers on this whom I admire. One is Marvin Wolfgang who wrote a paper for the Crime Commission which puts many theoretical strands together in a nice tapestry. He wrote that the youth subculture is growing

in its age span because there is, on the part of young people, simultaneously a demand for independence from the family, which is encouraged by the culture at large, and, at the same time, an increased dependency on the family, because of such things as the need for extensive schooling for the limited opportunity structure which the job market represents. In other words, both family and school are socializing dependency-independency conflicts in new ways.

(It needs to be recognized I think that the school does stand in loco parentis, and that the family has given up a good deal of its parentalizing function to the school. But I think it has not been recognized that the school is by and large the feminine principle of in loco parentis, and what is increasingly happening, and, I think one of the reasons that we're here today, is that the law is being brought into the field as the male principle of in loco parentis. Psychoanalytically speaking, the school feeds, as a mother feeds, and the law limits, or manifests authority, as the father does.)

Another writer I admire, whose work is relevant here, is Cohen, who just published a book called The Transition From Childhood to Adolescence. In it, he documents the principle thesis of this talk: that the transition from childhood to adolescence, not the transition from adolescence to adulthood, is the problem that glue is being used as the medication for. Heroin I would say is largely a post-pubescent anaesthetic, as I have written elsewhere.* I think glue is a specifically pubescent anaesthetic. That is, addicts present a different stage of pathology than sniffers.

The impact of Wolfgang's work, and that of Cohen, is supported by other writers.** In my view, these writers point to a gradually worsening picture of age stratification, in which intergenerational cooperation is becoming increasingly difficult. Kids, in short, are finding it harder than ever to regard the parental generation as valid models for adulthood. More and more,

*"Adolescence, Addiction, and Achrany," in R. Endleman, Personality and Social Structure, Random House, 1967 (in press).

**Van Gennep, and others have written on other age-specific transitions and related forms of deviance.

subculture is forced into the impossible posture of parentalizing itself. In my view, it isn't working for all too many teens, nor, for that matter, for very many parents.

Family Theory. Another paper presented to the President's Commission, written by Jackson Toby presents vivid evidence that teens in many of the industrialized nations are experiencing similar subcultural plights, but Toby shows, in addition, that teens blame their parents for their unhappiness. In one case history, we are shown a young Japanese boy who struck his father because his father wouldn't buy him a car. I pass over the fact that striking one's father is almost unthinkable disrespectful in the Japanese culture. What is noteworthy is the fact that, in this particular family, there wasn't even a family car. The father himself did not own a car, yet the boy unleashed his aggression, not only on the family, but in a typically "delinquent" style.

In his paper, Toby also performed some literary tricks. He presented other case histories, and you say to yourself, while reading, "Oh sure, I've seen those kids in Harlem." But the cases were not drawn from Harlem--they were Yeminite kids or Laplander kids. By disguising all the data except the actual quotes, he shows that the same thing happens all over the world. Kids are getting more and more angry because paradoxically the family will not give them the independence that they demand, blindly overlooking the contradiction that if you are dependent on the family for independence, it's not the kind of independence that you say you want. Toby concludes that this is beginning to be a cross-cultural phenomenon, related to the "industrially absent father" first described by Parsons and Cohen. The youth subculture is growing, and along with it, delinquency is increasing.

If it is true that there is more deviance in the youth subculture because the youth subculture is getting to include more kids because the family is giving up its functions, because the school is taking over the maternal role and industry and the law are taking over the paternal role, the question remains--"why glue?"

Psycho-Social Dynamics. I enter here the formal psychodynamic portion of the paper. Some people are afraid of, or ridicule, or both, the psychodynamic perspective. I will simply synthesize its basic postulate in one sentence as follows:

All you have to do to accept what I'm about to say is agree that infants learn patterns of feeling very early in life and that if the social structures in which they learn those patterns of feelings do not majorly change, they will continue to feel those patterns of feelings throughout most of their lives. That's all there is under Sigmund Freud if you look close.

Now there have been a number of cases of what I will call "respiratory deviance." Breathing wrong means it's not allowed or it's ill or it has a negative or low social status. For example, asthma, and tuberculosis, both of which are highly correlated with alcoholism and with early oral deprivation. We have in our country right now a national concern with cigarette smoking and air pollution and it causes me to wonder whether there is not some connection between the fact that the first conference on glue sniffing takes place in the mile high city, which is very conscious of oxygen consumption and its deviations.

There are brandy connoisseurs who get drunk. They are matched by people who sniff snuff or cocaine. WE know about ether frolics in the 19th century, a regular form of party which still takes place sometimes when the interns are all off at the same time, and, rather than drink and get uncoordinated, they just sniff ether and get high for a couple of hours. Freud himself, in the case of the Wolf man reports that he (Wolf man), felt it necessary to exhale, to breathe out, whenever he felt it was possible that he would become like the person he was talking to. And he would blow at them to indicate (to them) that he did not want to take them in.

One of Freud's pupils--a man named Harnik--did an investigation and extensive study of breath dynamics--not only a psychoanalytic study but one of the first cross cultural studies. He found that the "breath of life" or "mana" or "spirit" or "soul" or "anima" or "air" is so present in mythologies and scattered throughout the ethnographic literature that it was simply indubitable that most of the people being studied by Freudian anthropologists had a literal belief that life began by having the breath of life infused, and that taking the first breath of life had to do with the relation between the infant and his ancestors. Very often the breath that was taken in by the infant, that gave him life, was said to be the spirit of a particular ancestor, usually a same sex ancestor. When the infant turned out to have a gender that didn't

go with his biological sex, (a little "queer") it would be explained that there was an accident--that the wrong ancestor-spirit had been incorporated and that this was the explanation for it. What could one do? One had a god of the wrong sex within one.

Harnik further pointed out that the most primitive form of death anxiety has to do with a fear of suffocation. (When I say most primitive, I usually mean the oldest stratum of the psyche, i.e., the earliest stratum of the psyche to be formed.) Harnik pointed out that hyperventilation is related to that death-anxiety picture. You can experience this any time you want to. If you want a quick "high" just sit in a corner and breathe in very deeply, then exhale quickly. Do that about 15 or 20 times and you get both afraid and high as a kite. This is because breathing has to do with the oxygenation of cortical tissue. Hyperventilation is frequently an unconsciously prodded response to anxiety, because anxiety sometimes feels like you are short of breath and there is a gasp, a quick intake that has to do with fright; it is as if you were going to be asphyxiated--ie., deprived of the very breath of life. It remained to be pointed out by Fenichel that respiratory innervation and anxiety innervation overlap if you were to draw them on neurological charts.

Finally, just to mention some more cases of respiratory deviance, you will find that in the Christian Baptism ceremony, which is still practiced widely, there is an attempt on the part of priests to exorcise the "devil" or "satan" or evil spirits and to "inspire" the infant by breathing in the spirit of Christ. There seems to be a connection between the meaning of breath at very infantile, primitive levels of the psyche, primitive levels of ethnography, and religious myths, which have to do with origin and being born. There are connections between these meanings and the meaning of the use of glue.

Otto Fenichel has written I think, the definitive psychoanalytic essay in this area. It is from him that I boldly stole the title of this paper. He called his essay "Respiratory Intrajection." He talks there about the fact that in dreams, in free associations, and in clinical interviews with many patients it became clear to him that Freud's depiction of the oral stage of development had been insufficiently rich in that Freud paid little attention to the fact that prior to sucking and the use of the mouth as the source of

sustenance, of taking in fluids, there is also breathing. Frequently infants breath this way exclusively.

Fenichel further distinguished very carefully between olfaction and respiration. They are not identical. That is to say, you can take in air but that air can also have a smell. And we know that there is a very large connection between air we take in that has a smell and taste. I remember that in college we performed interesting experiments such as making it impossible to smell something and then trying to taste it. It gets to be rather difficult for many substances. Often, smell is part of taste.

Now, as you might expect, Fenichel will call some of these feelings "respiratory eroticism," because as you know, the standard psychoanalytic theory has to do with the development of erotic feelings. But "erotic" is rather widely defined; it doesn't mean just genital pleasure. For example, ethnographically, we can point to the Eskimo--who enjoy a form of kissing which Westerners imitate by rubbing noses. But, that isn't all it is; it's exchanging air--blowing and receiving in a rather elaborate rhythm. So that if you get to know how to "neck" in Eskimo culture, you're exchanging air in a rather titillating way. (The pun is deliberate.)

Thus, Fenichel and other psychoanalysts point to the fact that there's something like a "pre-oral" or "co-oral" mechanism involved in respiratory eroticism. That is to say, the oral stage of development is not the first, since prior to that, there is the development of breathing. Perhaps the reason why this sounds unfamiliar is related to the fact that, in our civilization, as Ronald Laing has said recently at the New York Academy of Medicine, olfaction is hugely repressed; we do not like to regard smell cues as the sources of our behavior. There are only a few situations in which we're allowed to smell, but otherwise we don't usually do so. One can generally use the word "smell" as a pejorative term.

These feelings, I suggest, are the psychodynamics of respiration, and they are, I feel, involved in glue sniffing. I think that something that has to do with respiratory eroticism is involved, and that this something is also involved with what we might call the first act of life--which is breathing, and the last act of life, which is called expiring. And if you'll take a little symbolic leap with me, in psychoanalytic literature, this "taking in" life, and "giving

out" life--the very breath of life itself--is the level at which I think the psychodynamics of glue sniffing have got to be investigated (if you're going to investigate the psychodynamics). I am alleging, therefore, that glue sniffers are trying to do something about feelings of being born, and fears of dying--that is to say, taking in the very breath of life from their society, and feeling that they might otherwise suffocate in that society by reason of suffocating deprivations.

The fact that glue sniffers are taking in an euphorogenic substance, something that gives them a "high," is referred to psychoanalytically as an attempt to incorporate a life giving spirit. Psychoanalytically, the source of life principle is, of course, the mother. So one would expect that in these families where there is usually an absent or a tyrant father, a continuing oral, or pre-oral dependency on the mother figure; and that kids who have that kind of dependency situation will attempt to breathe in--or take in--the source of life: to intraject, respiratorily, the maternal life principle.

The fact that glue is an euphorogenic substance simultaneously anesthetizes the death anxiety which is felt when one is taking in life itself. After all, it can be pretty frightening if you don't breathe right, you die. And the fact is, glue can kill. If it couldn't, I don't think it would be used, because if it weren't dangerous enough, it wouldn't be seen as powerful enough.

Similarly, it removes inhibitions, like alcohol does, and permits fantasies. Of what sort? In the cases I have read, those from the psychiatrists I've interviewed, and in the kids that I've interviewed, it permits specifically masturbatory fantasies of the hetero- and homosexual kind. But they are not intercourse fantasies. They are pregenital--they are play fantasies. So one cannot, I think, in this situation, refer strictly to Oedipal motivations, or to incestuous motivations. This is not so of the junkies. Narcotics people have very clear incestuous motivations and very clear castration anxieties with respect to fathers. This is not so with the glue sniffers, to my limited knowledge and to the extent that I've read the literature. It is more so that there is an attempt at fusion with the life principle--not the breast-the life principle which is classically known as mysticism. The fact that Spanish-American culture, Puerto Rican-American culture, Negro-American culture are highly religious, or religionist cultures, is not without bearing.

At the deepest levels, the psychodynamics seem to be as follows: There is an attempt to incorporate the life principle. This incorporation is a form of respiratory cannibalism. This cannibalism is dangerous because it kills. This killing endangers the protracted dependency. Therefore, there is an excitement of a talion danger: i.e., of retaliation. If you breathe in the source of life, you've now got it inside of you but there maybe no more left outside. And it may retaliate--it may attempt to do the same thing to you--it may attempt to breathe in your life principle. And then you may die.

The fact is that this incorporative mechanism is very like identification, and at the deepest levels, taking in a maternal life principle is also taking in a maternal identity; which leads to an homosexual identification, which is also terribly panicful, and also needs anesthetizing, which the glue happily does.

The deepest levels of regression can be attained with this substance. It is possible to reach an extremely infantile, psychotomimetic state--that is, a state which mimics a psychosis. And as you know, the final state can also be reached--it can be killing. One can die from it, suicidally.

I would argue, then, in summary, that from the family perspective, the subcultural perspective, and the psychoanalytic perspective, in their confluence, we not only have younger deviants, but we also have--in families where there is extreme maternal emotional gratification and dependency, aggravated by paternal absence--a form of respiratory incorporation, which is even prior in its psychodynamic meaning to narcotic addiction, and is therefore extremely primitive.

These three levels of approach are--in the studies that I am doing--baselines for new directions in research, which I will now try to summarize very briefly. Two psychiatrists named Hoffer and Osmond, who may be known to you as a result of their LSD research, have published several papers. It is their feeling that a good way to understand mood or the continuity of affective time--long-range feelings--is to research people's perceptions of temporal process, that is to say, how they feel about time. That doesn't mean clock-time; it means social time, it means life time: what stage of life one is "in"? How one feels about getting to the stage one wants to get to? How is it now that you're there, and how does it feel looking back and etcetera: in short, the effective experience of process.

My own work, and I can barely summarize it here, says that people directly sense the process of their lives emotionally; they feel the temporal aspect of living. More specifically, rather than refer to anomie, or to alienation, or to anxiety, which are the three models that lie behind the three kinds of data I have presented, I would rather coin a new word which Shakespeare described nicely when he wrote "the time is out of joint." When the rate at which you feel your life is going is painfully slower than the rate at which you most deeply desire your life to go, you have (an alpha privative in front of the Greek word for time) achrony--not anxiety; not anomie, not alienation. The time is out of joint for you.

Hence, I would argue that in the glue sniffing population, it is the very breath of life which seems to be receding from them; and there is an attempt on their part to intraject it respiratorily, to take in, to breathe in, more rapidly, some childish image of a happy life, an euphorogenic substance. In my view there is not only an increasing distance between the generations, but the pace at which success in this life is evading our most alienated minorities is, I believe, rapidly increasing. Now this rate discrepancy (i. e., achrony) between the possibility of "making it," and feeling that you're not making it, at the respiratory level of development, is the reason I believe that it's used as a subcultural medication.

DEVIANT ATTITUDES
AND BEHAVIOR OF GLUE-SNIFFERS IN
COMPARISON WITH SIMILAR AND DIFFERENT CLASS PEER GROUPS

by

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One part of the study of adolescent glue-sniffers in Denver deals with an analysis of the factors which comprise an individual's predisposition to this kind of deviant behavior. Before discussing the data on attitudes and behavior which constitute a part of this study, it is necessary to briefly consider the theoretical base which was used to formulate the study and which, it is hoped, will explain in the light of the data derived the glue-sniffing behavior of the boys in the study.

The theoretical orientation which underlies the empirical research is that of anomie--the situation of normlessness for individuals or groups. According to the classic conceptualization of anomie, this state arises out of a disjunction between the established goals of society and the legitimate means for achieving these goals. Merton lists four responses for the individual whose access to the societal goals is blocked: innovation, ritualism, retreatism, and rebellion. Of these, retreatism and innovation are of particular interest here. The adaptation to disjunctive means and goals through retreatism represents a rejection of both cultural goals and institutional means.

The individual has internalized fully the cultural goals of success but finds inaccessible the institutional means to obtain them. Under institutionalized pressure not to obtain the goal by illegitimate means such as innovation provides, the individual finds himself frustrated and handicapped. He does not denounce the success goal but instead adopts escape mechanisms such as "defeatism, quietism, and retreatism."¹

Retreatism, as Merton defines it, constitutes some of the adaptive activities of chronic alcoholics, drug addicts, and, we may infer, glue-sniffers. It is seen as a basically private rather than collective form of adaptation, "although people exhibiting this

¹ Marshall B. Clinard, Anomie and Deviant Behavior (New York: The Free Press of Glencoe, 1964), p. 21.

deviant behavior may gravitate toward centers where they come into contact with other deviants,"² and may come to share in the sub-culture of these deviant groups.

Innovation as an adaptation to anomie may take a number of forms, one of which is criminal. Unable to employ legitimate means to achieve societally approved goals, the individual resorts to illegal means to achieve the same ends. While the relevance of this form of adaptation is perhaps not as clear-cut as retreatism for explaining glue-sniffing behavior, it would apply if the glue-sniffing was one aspect of a larger complex of delinquent behavior for the individual.

As the results of the present study are discussed, the relationships of this theoretical orientation to the empirical data will be explicated. A more comprehensive treatment of the theory behind our research will be presented in Dr. Hanson's paper to follow.

Within the bounds of the study, it was not feasible to employ a control group--that is, a group which was matched to the glue-sniffing group in all respects with the exception of glue-sniffing behavior--in spite of the fact that with such a group we would have been able to handle the glue-sniffing behavior somewhat more rigorously. We did obtain, however, two comparison groups--groups that roughly matched the glue-sniffing boys as far as age and progress in school was concerned, but which differed from the glue-sniffing group and from each other in most other respects. Comparison group A was drawn from the same school that most of the glue-sniffing boys attended. Where the glue-sniffers were generally in grade seven, the boys in this first comparison group were drawn from a grade eight physical education class. Comparison group B was drawn from a school with a predominately upper-middle class population in order to obtain boys with considerably different attributes than those of the glue-sniffers and the group A boys. Again, we used a grade eight physical education class.

Part A of the table shows the relative attributes of the three groups, along with some information that we were able to obtain only for the glue-sniffers. The picture we have of these boys is one of considerable deprivation. They tend to come from broken homes, average at least one grade behind their peers in school, come from homes with relatively low incomes, the majority of which are derived from A. D. C., have low I.Q. and National Achievement scores, and get low grades in school. If we can

²Ibid., p. 21.

suppose a causal relationship between days absent from school and school performance, then perhaps we could say that these boys are simply not exercising their potential. The Intelligence Quotient and National Achievement Score could also be attributed, at least in part, to a lack of motivation and interest in school. But we can also argue the opposite causal direction--that is, that their inability to perform adequately in school results in a lack of interest and consequent poor attendance. Within our theoretical frame of reference we can accept this latter explanation, which will be subsequently supported by our findings.

The differences between the glue-sniffers and the comparison groups that have been presented thus far provide little more than a background for further inquiry into the process of glue-sniffing and deviant behavior in general. Obviously, not all boys with the same attributes are glue-sniffers, nor do we have any justification for positing universal deviance of any kind for all boys in this category. Rather, we can say that within the theoretical orientation presented in the first part of this paper, there is a likelihood for deviance here--a reasonable base for expecting it, if you will. It remains now to investigate the attitudes and behavior of these boys; information which will help to explain in much greater measure the particular form of deviant behavior manifested in glue-sniffing.

The attitude questionnaire which we administered consisted of twenty statements, and the respondents were asked to indicate whether they felt each one was not wrong, a little bit wrong, wrong, or very wrong. Each response was scored on a one to four basis, and summarized under one of three categories: school-related attitudes, law-related attitudes, or individual-related attitudes. In addition, a composite summary score for all of the items was derived, and gave us the respondent's relative acceptance of illegitimate means. Included under the school-related attitudes were the following statements: to smoke on the school grounds; to go out with friends and miss school; to fake an excuse from home; to cut-up in the classroom; to copy another kid's homework; to cheat on tests; to lie to a teacher. Law-related items included: to sniff glue; to take things that don't belong to you; to get into trouble with the law; to run from the law; to go to beer or wine parties; to drive a car without a license. The individual-related items were: to swear or curse; to get home a little later than

usual after school; to mess around with girls; to disobey your parents; to do things on the spur of the moment; to get into fights with other kids.

The items were designed to sample a variety of the boys' attitudes, rather than just those directly related to glue-sniffing and other legal deviance. In this way we are able to examine existing attitude sets with reference to a number of salient aspects of the boys' life.

A second questionnaire administered to the three groups was designed to determine the respondent's actual behavior in regard to the same factors covered in the attitude questionnaire. Each statement from the attitude questionnaire was modified only to the degree that it asked, "do you?", rather than "how do you feel about?" The statements were summarized as school-related deviance, low-related deviance, individual-related deviance, and total conforming behavior.

Part B of the table indicates the differences found among the three groups in regard to their attitudes towards deviance. Significantly more deviance is accepted by the glue-sniffers than by either of the two comparison groups in regard to their school-related attitudes. In regard to law-related attitudes, we find a significant difference between the glue-sniffers and comparison group B, while the individual-related attitudes are essentially similar for the three groups. The total summary score indicates a greater acceptance of deviant attitudes in general by the glue-sniffers than by group B.

The results of the behavior questionnaire are shown in part C. of the table. In every case, the behavior of the glue-sniffers was found to be significantly more deviant than the behavior of either of the comparison groups.

A simultaneous examination of attitudes and behavior with regard to each summary score reveals some relevant implications for further analysis and research in this area. First, and perhaps most important, we find that both the attitudes and the behavior of the glue-sniffers in regard to school was deviant, as compared with the attitudes and behavior of both comparison groups. Because of this consistency between attitudes and behavior, we can infer that the highest degree of alienation from society for these boys obtains

in relation to their school. Their low performance and I. Q. 's and their high absence rate lend support to this inference. That this problem is not a result of the specific school attended by the boys is indicated by the fact that comparison group A was also drawn from this school. Rather, we would be more inclined to see the problem as stemming from a shared cognitive orientation on the part of the boys themselves, an orientation which probably develops as a result of their inability to perform as well as their peers. It's reasonable to assume, I believe, that the anomic state brought about by the boys' poor performance in school, and reflected in their attitudes and behavior toward the school, results in the anomic adaptation discussed earlier, retreatism. Further, this retreatism may be seen to manifest itself in glue-sniffing.

When we examine the law-related attitudes of the glue-sniffers we find that they tend to correspond to the attitudes of their peers within the same socio-economic class, although they differ from the attitudes of the upper-middle class boys. The discrepancy between attitudes and behavior in regard to legal matters reflects an extension of the anomic state for the boys. In this regard there is no attitudinal rejection of established values regarding the law, at least in relation to their socio-economic class. But the behavioral deviance from society's expectations are great. In this case we would seem to have a case of community anomie, in the sense that the boys are unwilling or unable to conform to behavior that they have learned is appropriate. The implications here for the further development of a negative self-concept are considerable, since there is an obvious internal conflict between norms and behavior.

We find much the same situation existing in regard to the attitudes and behavior which we labelled individual. Since they do not directly reflect the values of authority figures outside the home, we would have expected a considerable variation in responses. Such was not the case however. The glue-sniffers, in fact, showed a minimum of variance in responding to the attitude items, and we found that their responses coincided, by and large, with the attitudes of the two comparison groups. With regard to behavior, however, we find the usual pattern of deviance.

That there should be such large discrepancies between attitudes and behavior in two instances, and little or no discrepancy in the third, implies a causal relationship for the general situation. That is, on the basis of the data obtained, it seems reasonable to

infer that the base of deviance for the glue-sniffers revolves around the school. It would appear that the school, more than any other factor in the boys' lives contribute to their negative self-concepts and resultant states of anomie. The deviant behavior relating to legal or individual factors is not a result of deviant attitudes in the same areas--rather, just the opposite situation would seem to exist. That this situation has been brought about by the boys' failure in school may be explained by the "halo effect" which tends to generalize failure in one area to failure in one's total existence, particularly when the original failure is in an area highly relevant to the individual.

Attributes, Attitudes and Behavior
of Glue-Sniffers and Comparison Groups

A.	<u>Background Differences</u>	Glue- <u>Sniffers</u>	<u>Group A</u>	<u>Group B</u>
1.	Average age	13.5	13.8	13.2
2.	Ethnicity: White	0	4	63
	White, Spanish surname	34	10	0
	Negro	2	16	1
3.	(a) Living with natural parents	22%	44%	83%
	(b) Living with mother only	56%	25%	9%
4.	Parents divorced	42%	19%	1%
5.	Family income:			
	\$1,000. - \$2,999.	31%	--	--
	\$3,000. - \$4,999.	42%	--	--
	\$5,000. - \$6,999.	19%	--	--
6.	Grade point average last year	1.79	2.16	2.8
7.	Days absent from school last year	60	--	--
8.	Average I. Q.	86	--	--
9.	Average National Achievement Score	55	--	--
B.	<u>Attitude Differences*</u>			
1.	School-related attitudes		.02	.001
2.	Law-related attitudes		--	.05
3.	Individual-related attitudes		--	--
4.	Total rejection illegitimate means		--	.05
C.	<u>Behavior Differences*</u>			
1.	School-related deviance		.001	.001

*The figures given under parts B and C indicate the probability that the differences found in attitudes and behavior between the glue-sniffers and each comparison group could have occurred by chance. Thus a .001 level of significance indicates that the probability of the differences occurring by chance, rather than some other factor, is one in a thousand.

Attributes, Attitudes and Behavior
of Glue-Sniffers and Comparison Groups (continued)

C.	<u>Behavior Differences</u>	<u>Glue-Sniffers</u>	<u>Group A</u>	<u>Group B</u>
2.	Law-related deviance		.001	.001
3.	Individual-related deviance		.05	.02
4.	Total conforming behavior		.001	.001

EXPLAINING GLUE SNIFFING
AND RELATED JUVENILE DELINQUENCY

by

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In a paper entitled, "The Onset of Heroin Addiction in a Juvenile Population," read at the 1966 meeting of the American Sociological Association, John C. Ball listed 14 contemporary formulations that have been advanced to explain the commencement of deviant behavior in general or that of narcotic drug addiction in particular.¹ In the first part of this paper, I will attempt to show

¹ Sources for these formulations include the following references. On anomie, alienation and retreatism, see Robert K. Merton, Social Theory and Social Structure (Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1957), Chapters IV and V, and Marshall B. Clinard (ed.), Anomie and Deviant Behavior (New York: The Free Press of Glencoe, 1964).

For status seeking among peers and deviant subcultures, see Albert K. Cohen, Delinquent Boys (Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1955).

For differential association theory, see Edwin H. Sutherland, Principles of Criminology (4th ed.; New York: J. B. Lippincott, 1947), and Donald R. Cressey, Delinquency, Crime and Differential Association (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1964). See also James F. Short, Jr. and Fred L. Strodbeck, Group Process and Gang Delinquency (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1965).

For consequences of blocked opportunity in the legitimate opportunity structure, access to the illegitimate opportunity structure and the double failure hypothesis see Richard A. Cloward and Lloyd E. Ohlin, Delinquency and Opportunity (Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1960), and Irving Spergel, Racketville, Slumtown, Haulburg (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1965).

For the effects of a lower class milieu on delinquency, see Walter B. Miller, "Lower Class Culture as a Generating Milieu of Gang Delinquency," Journal of Social Issues, 14, 3(1958), pp. 5-19.

On the effects of family disorganization and early family experiences, see Sheldon and Eleanor Glueck, Unraveling Juvenile Delinquency (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1950), and William Healy and Augusta F. Bronner, New Light on Delinquency and Its Treatment (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1936).

For a description of the labelling process and its theoretical consequences, see Thomas J. Scheff, "The Role of the Mentally Ill and the Dynamics of Mental Disorder: A Research Framework," Sociometry, 26 (December, 1963, pp. 436-453, and Austin T. Turk,

that these same theoretical ideas can also be applied to the explanation of glue sniffing and related juvenile delinquency. In the second part of the paper, I will describe the seven most powerful variables related to the extent of glue sniffing and other juvenile delinquency that we have found in an exploratory study of 36 Denver glue sniffers and a contrasting group of 64 non-sniffing, non-delinquent peers.

The 36 male, Spanish-American glue sniffers were participants in the Denver Juvenile Court Project under the direction of Judge Ted Rubin. The project was supported by the Office of Juvenile Delinquency and Youth Development. The glue sniffers were involved in the Project either as members of a control group or as members of one of several different treatment groups. The data reported here were gathered early in the Project to measure glue sniffers' attitude and behavior patterns prior to staff efforts to change their behavior.

The data collected at the end of the demonstration period are still being analyzed and are not discussed in this report.

The contrasting group of 64 non-sniffing peers were members of an eighth grade gym class at a junior high school in a middle class neighborhood.

Known Characteristics of Glue Sniffers

In order to understand the kind of group to which explanations for glue sniffing will be applied, let us start with what is known about the differences between glue sniffing and non-sniffing delinquents.

"Conflict and Criminality," American Sociological Review, 31 (June, 1966), pp. 338-352.

On the relationship between personality inadequacy and escapist behavior, see Isidor Chein, Donald L. Gerard, Robert S. Lee, and Eva Rosenfeld, The Road to H (New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1964).

For the theory of conversion to a deviant perspective, see John Lofland and Rodney Stark, "Becoming a World Saver: A Theory of Conversion to a Deviant Perspective," American Sociological Review, 30 (December, 1965), pp. 862-875.

Gordon Barker and Thomas Adams have compared a group of glue sniffers with a random sample of non-sniffing delinquents at the Lookout Mountain School for Boys.² They concluded as follows:

Extremes in certain categories appear to characterize the glue sniffer in viewing him individually and as a group as indicated in the following: Glue sniffing is most likely to occur among ethnic minority young males who are very poor achievers in their academic settings. These boys come from broken homes residing in high delinquency areas with an average of seven to eight other siblings. The residence of the families is urban. The control of the parent over the child is limited and the dependence upon other delinquency-prone youngsters is common.

The study shows that glue sniffers are not essentially different from other juvenile delinquents. Rather, the factors that produce juvenile delinquency in general also operate to produce glue sniffing as one more form of delinquent activity. Contemporary theories of deviant behavior can thus be expected to provide a range of factors which are pertinent to the explanation of juvenile glue sniffing behavior and related delinquency.

An Orientation to the Glue Sniffing Problem

Like most other types of delinquent behavior, glue sniffing is learned from peers.³ The attitudes and behavior patterns of the glue

²Gordon H. Barker and W. Thomas Adams, "Glue Sniffers," Sociology and Social Research, 47, 3 (April, 1963).

³In a verbatim report of a conversation which occurred at a group meeting, the group leader, Robert Arneson recorded the following:

L: So what, did you start your sister or did she start you?

M: We didn't start each other, we started about the same time but it was D. H. that started me.

E: D. H. (a negro boy) started all of us, except maybe L. L.

Leader: Where is D. H. now?

C: He's in Golden, he violated his parole and is back in LMSB (Lookout Mountain School for Boys).

sniffing group differ from attitudes and behavior defined as proper by the larger society. This implies that at least some of the normative standards of the larger society have not been communicated to, or accepted by, these youngsters. The social control system of the larger society has not prevented the development of deviant attitudes and behavior in the glue sniffing group.

How has this breakdown in the transmission of legitimate norms and the failure of the social control system occurred? Contemporary theories of deviant behavior provide a variety of answers to this question.

Consequences of Family Disorganization

The family is the primary socializing institution. If the family fails to communicate the approved attitudes and norms of the larger society to the children, then the children may be receptive to alternative deviant attitudes and values.

It is a well-established fact that the families of glue sniffing youngsters are disorganized from the point of view of the larger society. In Denver, almost all of the families with glue sniffing members are multi-problem families in some kind of dependency relation with the social agencies of the community. Most of the families of glue sniffers are Spanish-American, implying socialization into a Spanish-speaking rural oriented culture which holds attitudes and standards of behavior quite different from those of middle class Anglo urban society.

The majority of families with glue-sniffers are characterized by a lack of normal husband-father involvement. Many of the families directly expose the children to deviant attitudes and behavior, such as excessive drinking, sexual promiscuity, and older sibling truancy and delinquency.⁴ In the typically large

⁴The following conversation with one of his glue sniffing boys was reported verbatim by a group leader, Robert Arneson:

Leader (L): What were your parents fighting over?

Boy (B): He said she was messing around.

L.: What do you mean by messing around. . . .

Running around with other men?

B.: Yeah. . . .

families, the children are often free from direct supervision by a father or mother. Since the families reside in lower class, high delinquency neighborhoods, the children are exposed to opportunities to learn deviant attitudes and behavior in the immediate neighborhood as well as in the home.

A consequence of such disorganized family conditions is that the children fail to acquire the attitudes and norms defined as proper and legitimate by the larger society. Another probable consequence of such conditions is that personality inadequacies are produced in many children. Lack of normal recognition and affection from both a father and mother may produce low self-esteem, low ego strength, a sense of frustration and lack of well being in the home environment. Such a situation primes the child to depend on the status and affection he receives from neighborhood companions.

Failure in the School System

In our society the second most important socializing institution is the school. The attitudes and standards of behavior

L.: What do you think about all this?

B.: I don't know, I can't do anything no matter what. I just try and stay out of it. Keep my mouth shut. I did pretty good but she hit me. (He showed me a bruise over his right cheek.) . . .

L.: You were afraid of your mother or what you might do if she kept hitting you or what?

B.: That's it. One time she kept hitting me with a pop bottle. She hit me on the arms, legs and then was going to hit me on the head. So I pushed her and she fell over a chair.

. . .

L.: What do you think of F. (a cousin staying at his home)?

B.: Not too much, not since he started with narcotics again. I think he's trying to get me in trouble like others I know. He tells me that Buena (reformatory) isn't bad at all. He's given me marijuana. . . . If he gets busted again, it's life. He has already served time in Golden, Buena and several times in prison. He's stole cars, taken them across the line. He's taken girls across the line. He has been sent up for kidnapping. He collected the ransom but got caught afterwards. He's also been sent up on a narcotics rap.

expected in the larger society (i. e., middle class, Anglo society) are propounded by teachers and the texts the children study.

But the school system has evidently failed to socialize and control the children who become glue sniffers. Glue sniffers typically display a record of failure, high rates of absence and truancy, low grades, and discipline problem histories. They experience neither recognition nor affection in the school system, but rather, again, a sense of frustration and failure.

Failure in the school system is to be expected frequently when the child comes from a different cultural tradition and usually first has learned Spanish rather than English. Furthermore, the values and attitudes he is exposed to in a lower class neighborhood are likely to be different from those of school authorities and school books. In general, he is poorly prepared to adapt to the competition and ambitions expected of middle class children.

At best, this exposure to contradictory attitudes and norms produces a condition of anomie in which the child incorporates no firm guides for his behavior. At worst, the child completely rejects the attitudes and standards propounded by the school system, gives up any persistent attempt to learn, and bides his time until he can legitimately leave the system. Such a situation is probably the case for most sniffers. A serious consequence of this pattern of rejection of the school system is that the youngster is cut off from the major legitimate means of ever raising his level of socio-economic status in our society. The job opportunity structure allots the uneducated and unskilled job seeker the lowest wages, the poorest working conditions, and so on. Realization of this on the part of the uneducated young man may cause him to explore the illegitimate opportunity structure which may then lead to a life of crime and/or escape into narcotic addiction or alcoholism.

Differential Association and Escape Behavior

All normal adolescents seek recognition and affection from their peers. The close friends of an adolescent exert a tremendous influence on his attitudes and behavior quite apart from what he has learned at home and at school. The adolescent who is failing at school and finding little affection in the home is even more dependent on a group of peers for some kind of recognition and affection. In

order to gain status as a member of a neighborhood group, he will have to conform to the attitudes and behavior patterns of the group as a whole. If glue sniffing is part of the behavior pattern of the group into which he desires entrance, and he starts associating with group members, then he will be exposed to glue sniffing and other delinquent behavior patterns of the group. It is highly probable that the neophyte will soon engage in glue sniffing activity; otherwise, members will withhold the recognition and affection which pulled him into associating with them in the first place.

This kind of formulation follows from the theory of differential association which holds that delinquent behavior is learned in a context of intense personal association with others already delinquent. The theory has been criticized for failing to explain why some individuals in the same family or neighborhood don't become delinquent when essentially the same conditions are provided for all.

For glue sniffing, the question is: why do some kids become glue sniffers when others in the same family or neighborhood do not? Although several hypotheses can be advanced in the attempt to answer this question, I will discuss only the one which seems most plausible to me in the light of our Denver experience.⁵ This

⁵The "double failure" hypothesis has been proposed as a way to account for retreatist or escape behavior, such as alcoholism or narcotic addiction. Briefly, a person who has failed to achieve success goals such as recognition or wealth within the legitimate opportunity structure and then fails again to achieve such goals within the illegitimate opportunity structure will reject both the goals and means offered by society and escape into alcoholism or drug addiction. While it is probably true that a potential glue sniffer is failing to achieve personal goals within the opportunity structure provided by the school system, there is no evidence suggesting that he has had the opportunity and then failed to achieve goals within an illegitimate opportunity structure, such as through participation in an organized criminal or aggressive juvenile gang. At least in Denver, there appear to be no organized aggressive or criminal gangs at the young adolescent age level.

Another hypothesis that has been advanced to account for the appearance of deviant perspectives and behavior is the "conversion" hypothesis. Essentially, the potential convert to a deviant perspective goes through a gradual process of withdrawal from former

hypothesis might be called an ecological or "availability" hypothesis. Once glue sniffing has been introduced into the neighborhood, most likely by a glue sniffer whose family has moved to the neighborhood, differential association theory applies. The sniffers are such as we have described: they come from disorganized homes, are failures at school, have little adult supervision of behavior, and lack firm legitimate standards of behavior. The potential glue sniffer is in similar circumstances. By virtue of normal interaction with kids in the neighborhood, the potential glue sniffer will hear about or observe glue sniffing, perhaps when he and the sniffers are both truant from school. The opportunity to learn the behavior is thus available. The potential sniffer is seeking companionship with peers in the neighborhood. The only restriction to his learning to sniff glue then, it seems to me, is whether the sniffers feel inclined to pursue further association with the non-sniffer. If they do, and he also desires to continue associating with them, he will eventually begin to sniff glue when they do.

The Labelling Process

Once the association with glue sniffers is firmly established and his glue sniffing has begun, the beginning sniffer will find himself labelled a glue sniffer by his associates, his family, and by school and legal authorities. Then his glue sniffing becomes an expected attribute of one of his social roles: his companions expect; family members, teachers, and police authorities expect it as part of the social role they assign to glue sniffing

associations and attitudes until he becomes completely committed to the group holding deviant attitudes. In my opinion, the hypothesis does not quite fit the glue sniffing problem, although it is probably true that the potential sniffer has withdrawn to some extent from family and school. There is no evidence that the glue sniffing step finally comes about only after a long series of stages have been passed on the road to final commitment to glue sniffing. Rather, the evidence suggests that first use of glue occurred typically as a rather casual, street corner activity among a group of neighborhood associates, and that no series of "conversion" steps were involved.

delinquents.⁶ We can then anticipate that glue sniffing behavior will be maintained until the group changes its attitude and behavior patterns, or, if the group breaks up, until some other more powerful expectation or more desirable alternative replaces the glue sniffing behavior pattern for the aging adolescent sniffer.

Note on Methodology

In our strategy for devising instruments with which to measure any progress glue sniffers might make under different types of treatment methods, we wanted to observe not only changes in deviant behavior, attitudes, and personality variables, but to look for growing stability in group norms and possible changes in mechanisms of social control in the experimental groups. When the opportunity to

⁶Some of the expectations of parents are revealed in the verbatim recording of a group session as reported by Robert Arneson, group leader:

Leader: I wonder how you guys feel about how your parents punish you.

A.: Man, everytime I'm sick, trip on something, or like the time I cut my finger. She says, "See what this glue is doing to you. It's the glue that's doing it. She always tells me I'm going out to sniff, and so on. Sometimes she punished me by keeping my friends out of the house. Sometimes Jessie (older brother) beats me up. . . .

S.: . . . One time my sister called me a glue head with a bunch of dumb glue head buddies. I knocked her down the stairs and she hasn't teased me since.

C.: I get real beatings by both Ma and Dad, but when M. sniffs they punish him by tying him up. He'd run away if they didn't.

E.: . . . Everytime I ask for money they tell me I'm going to use it for glue. Then they give me the money and I tell them that's just what I'm going to do, buy glue and I do.

contrast the glue sniffers with peer groups from differing backgrounds became possible, we found that these instruments designed to measure changes over time among the glue sniffers also provided powerful differentiating variables between glue sniffing delinquents and presumably non-delinquent peers.

It is not important to describe here the content of all of the instruments which were used in the study nor to describe in detail the methodology of the study. Briefly, for the purpose of comparing glue sniffers with a group of non-sniffers from a middle class neighborhood junior high, an eighth grade gym class, we put the data through a factor analysis in order to isolate empirically several independent factors associated with deviant behavior. We then selected the best variables representing each factor and ran regression analyses to find the most powerful set of variables which can be used to predict glue sniffing and related delinquent behavior.

Results

Deviant behavior was measured by a 20 item scale in which the adolescent respondents reported the extent to which they had engaged in a particular behavior, such as "How often have you cheated on tests?" The response categories were "often," "several times," "once or twice," or "never," scored from 1 through 4.

The items were sub-grouped into behaviors involving violation of school norms, violation of legal norms, and other mild misbehaviors used primarily as buffer items among the more definitely delinquent behavior items. The content of these behavior and similar attitude items were described in the preceding paper presented by William Meloff.⁷

⁷The school deviance items covered the following list of behaviors: smoked on school grounds, gone out with friends and missed school, faked an excuse from home, cut-up in the classroom, copied other kids' homework, cheated on tests, and lied to a teacher.

The legal deviance items included: sniffed glue, took things that don't belong to you, got into trouble with the law, ran from the law, went to beer or wine parties, went to glue parties, and drove without a license.

The misbehavior items were the following: swore or cursed, got home a little later than usual after school, messed around with

Table I shows the most powerful independent variables we found correlated with the extent of glue sniffing. In addition, the table reports the correlation of these variables with the extent of school deviance, legal deviance and total deviant behavior. With but minor exceptions, the same variables proved to be the most powerful predictors for both total deviant behavior and all sub-types of deviant behavior.

The multiple regression analysis utilized the ten best variables produced by the factor analysis involving many other variables. For example, although several variables which defined the socio-economic status of the family entered into the factor analysis, none of these variables survived the empirical reduction to the ten most powerful predictor variables.

As can be observed in Table I, the seven most powerful predictor variables associated with extent of glue sniffing included: two variables describing aspects of last year's school behavior, days absent and grade point average; a family disorganization variable; two psychological variables, lack of social dominance and lack of ego strength; and two attitude variables, acceptance of school norm violations and acceptance of legal norm violations.

These results clearly reflect the theoretical expectations developed in the first part of the paper. Since there is relatively little supervision of his behavior in the home, the potential glue sniffer finds it's easy to skip school. As his truancy increases, his grades go down and he experiences failure in the school system. The question still remains as to whether earlier failure at school promotes truancy and leads to glue sniffing, or whether the glue sniffing precedes the truancy and failure at school. We do know for one of our experimental groups that as the school year progressed and glue sniffing halted, truancy declined dramatically and school performance improved.

The variable "social dominance" is a summary psychological variable covering sub-parts called sociability, social presence, self-acceptance, sense of well-being, capacity for status, and dominance. "Ego strength" is another psychological summary

girls, disobeyed your parents, did things on the spur of the moment, and got into fights with other kids.

variable covering sub-parts called responsibility, socialization, self-control, tolerance, good impression, and communality. It is easy to understand why glue sniffers would score low on these measures. Having grown up without involvement with normal adult male role models in the home, and probably with insufficient recognition and affection from parents, these youths are apt to express anxiety and insecurity in their responses to items measuring social dominance. Similarly, having experienced relatively little supervision or control in the home and failure in the school, we would expect these youngsters to score low on items measuring responsibility, socialization, self-control, and others that comprise the variable Ego strength.

Finally, we should expect the glue sniffers to express relatively high acceptance of both school and legal norm violations. They have been exposed to deviant attitudes and behavior in both the home and neighborhood. Probably all have observed excessive drinking, sexual promiscuity, and the truancy and delinquency of older siblings or neighborhood adolescents. Furthermore, their attitudes are influenced by their companions who come from similar circumstances. As a group, the glue sniffers can be expected to develop tolerant attitudes toward deviance not typical of children from stable homes in low delinquency neighborhoods.

When these variables are combined in the effort to predict extent of glue sniffing or other related types of delinquency, relatively high multiple R's result as shown in Table I. Such high correlations for behavioral data are quite unusual. It must be cautioned, however, that the relationships may be inflated due to the contrasting group design and the exploratory, inductive approach of the study. Further research utilizing larger random samples of adolescents should be accomplished before predictive equations can be presented with confidence.

In summary, we have found that glue sniffing results when family disorganization and school failure produces an inadequate socialization outcome. The potential glue sniffer, hampered in his psychological development by repeated frustration at home and school, and exposed to deviant patterns of behavior in both home and neighborhood, must depend on peer group relations in his search for recognition and affection. But his peers in the neighborhood are themselves in similar circumstances. If they display an attitude of tolerance toward delinquent acts, and engage in glue sniffing and other delinquent behaviors, the adolescent who joins such a group

will learn the deviant attitudes and behavior patterns of the group. He will then be labelled a glue sniffer by society which leads to the expectation that he will continue to sniff glue until the group breaks up or until it changes its pattern of activities.

It is obvious that if society is to prevent glue sniffing from occurring, conditions in the family, school, and neighborhood must change for the many adolescents who are the potential glue sniffers at the present time.

TABLE 1
PREDICTOR VARIABLES ASSOCIATED
WITH GLUE SNIFFING AND OTHER DELINQUENCY

Predictor Variables	Criterion Variables			
	Glue Sniffing	School Deviance	Legal Deviance	Total Deviance
1. Days absent from school last year	.67	.62	.63	.63
2. Last year's grade point average	.61	.51	.59	.53
3. Disorganized parental marital relationship	.51	.44	.50	.49
4. Acceptance of school norm violations	.38	.54	.48	.55
5. (Lack of) Ego Strength	.34	.40	.52	.49
6. Acceptance of legal norm violations	.34	.37	.46	.44
7. (Lack of) Social Dominance	.35			
Multiple R	.76	.76	.78	.77

The presentations which follow are condensations of papers which were presented by individuals whose communities have become so concerned about substance abuse among young people that the problem has been studied in some depth, and creative actions taken.

DENVER JUVENILE COURT GLUE-SNIFFING PROJECT

by

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As far back as 1960, it was recognized that the mis-use of Airplane Glue (Toluene) was on the increase in the Denver area. It was also learned that this practice was prevalent in other metropolitan communities and was of concern to police, courts and social agencies. Upon taking office in January, 1965, the Honorable Ted Rubin discovered that many of the juvenile offenders in the 10 year - 15 year age range were known users of glue. He was concerned about this problem to the extent that he felt it warranted further investigation. As a result, Judge Rubin submitted a request to the office of Juvenile Delinquency and Youth Development, March, 1965, for a federal grant to study the phenomenon of Glue Inhalation and Its Relationship to Juvenile Delinquency. In July of 1965 our research project was funded for a period of 18 months, and a six month extension was granted on October 1, 1966, making possible a total study of 24 months.

In addition to the key question stated above the project staff felt that there was general concern and added information needed about the following questions:

1. In what ways is glue inhalation harmful to the user?
Does it cause either psychological harm or physiological harm, such as brain or liver damage?
2. Why this means of acting out, or as the man said, "Why glue? "
3. How wide spread is the practice, or is it limited primarily to one particular ethnic, nationality, racial or socio-economic group?
4. What conditions have to exist for this practice to begin or continue?
5. Can some means of intervention be devised in order to cope with this problem?

At this point I'd like to admit that our staff had many struggles in trying to determine how we would approach the problem of Glue-Sniffing in Denver. Early in the game we discovered that the practice of Glue-Sniffing was more widespread than we had suspected, and yet we realized that time-wise and staff-wise we could not survey or work with the total problem. I'm sure this was frustrating to the police, teachers, probation counselors and others who wanted immediate help with current Glue-Sniffing cases uncovered in their daily work. This was equally frustrating to us as well, since we had to arbitrarily elect to work with boys in the 12 year to 15 year age group, who were known or suspected Glue-Sniffers, and we had to restrict ourselves to two sections of the city on a neighborhood basis. This ruled out working with girls who were also known problems, and it ruled out working in certain other areas of the city where Glue-Sniffing was known to be prevalent.

Rather than spread ourselves too thin, we arbitrarily decided to work intensively with smaller segments of the overall problem in the hope that our study would shed more light on the contributing factors, and perhaps we could develop some effective means of treating the problem. It was further decided that we would try to employ standard case work and group work methods and techniques as a means of investigation and intervention. In the process it was hoped we could get some clues as to which method was more effective in working with the Glue-Sniffing problem: the individual or the group approach. As a result, it was determined we would work through two separate neighborhood gang type groups and a limited case load of juvenile court cases.

Not unlike the new Denver Broncos, we tried to begin with a qualified administrative and "coaching staff" to support and guide the efforts of those who would be working directly with the Glue-Sniffers in the field. In addition to our project co-directors: Judge Rubin and Mr. Les Thomas, our staff included Dr. Robert Hanson, C. U. Department of Sociology, as research consultant, Miss Sue Dodson, Fort Logan Mental Health Center, as Case Work Supervisor and myself as Group Work Supervisor.

I'd like to begin describing our program and methods, starting with the two groups. Let me begin by saying that our kids and their families do fit the descriptions offered in yesterday's session.

Group #1:

Area Served: Near North East Side, Spanish American neighborhood, Morey Jr. High School District

Base of Operation: Holy Ghost Community Center, Sister Joseph Marie, Director

Characteristics of Group: A group of 12 Spanish-American boys, aged 12 to 15. A natural friendship or gang type group all coming from the same neighborhood and on probation to the Denver Juvenile Court. All of the boys were being seen individually by the same probation counselor, Mr. Bob Arneson, who suggested the possibility of group meetings. Mr. Arneson was transferred from the regular probation staff to this project, and he started meeting with these cases in the neighborhood on a group basis in lieu of their regular weekly reporting. All the boys admitted to the practice of Glue-Sniffing but this differed as to frequency and amount used (2 to 10 tubes, an average of 6). Apparently the use of glue has had high status in this neighborhood. Another thing this group had in common was a high incidence of trouble with the police and a high number of court appearances. Conversely, they each had an equally poor record of school attendance and were known as learning and disciplinary problems at Morey Junior High School. Mr. Arneson used the prescribed group work approach in being available on the street daily and in time arranged to meet with them after school three times a week on a voluntary basis.

Initially, he provided a program of activities such as pool, table games, trips, athletics, etc., and gradually included some discussion. As the group matured and developed, the meetings became less and less activity-centered and more and more discussion centered. Discussions included plans for future meetings, selection of officers, problems at home and school; how to get along with each other better, etc. We have evidence of a democratic group structure being obtained replete with officers and club rules, etc. No effort was made to force the boys to give up glue, but special incentives such as

T-shirts and trips were offered to encourage the boys to attend group and school and to refrain from the use of glue. Attempts were made to work with the families on an individual to group basis. One of the special features of the group #1 model was that it had the extra dimension of a built-in specialized education plan.

From previous individual work with these boys it was known that they had many learning and school adjustment problems. Faced with the embarrassment in class of being unable to read aloud or recite, they acted out through misconduct and truancy. There was reason to believe that while truant, much of the glue-sniffing activity took place. In order to make school more palatable for them and to be assured of class work geared to their level, a special class was established at Morey Junior High School which was jointly financed by the Denver Public Schools and the project. The almost remarkable shift toward improved attendance and grades and a sharp decline in disciplinary problems is also a tribute to the outstanding work of both Mr. Jim Tracy and his successor Mr. La Mar Steen. Their efforts, plus the full support of the Morey faculty, including Dr. Mathis and Assistant Principal, Mr. George O'Shaughnessy, have made these results possible.

Group #2:

Number of boys: 10 average, 20 in all, aged 12 to 15 years

School District: Horace Mann

Area Served: Near North West Side of Denver

Base of Operation: Northside Community Center, Mr. Lew Sinopoli, Director

Characteristic of Group: A collection of individuals from the same neighborhood and school district. Although most of them knew each other previously, they did not operate as a gang-type group. None of the original boys were known to the court and all denied any knowledge of

Glue-Sniffing. Unlike the neighborhood of the first group, Glue-Sniffing on the North West Side was taboo and low status, and it was nearly six months before the boys openly admitted and discussed their use of glue. Another striking difference was the fact that school attendance was not a major problem with these boys, but they were under-achievers scholastically.

We were fortunate to have as a leader for this group, Mr. Tony Perea, who was a recent college graduate with an outstanding athletic background. Mr. Perea started as a street worker and recruited his boys one or two at a time by circulating in the neighborhood and promoting conversation and games. Despite his Spanish-American background, Mr. Perea was treated like any outsider (or interloper) in this ingrown neighborhood and it took him a number of months to win the confidence of the boys and their families. His approach was necessarily slow and cautious, and in the early days of the group, the attendance was sporadic. The membership of the group has since grown steadily and attendance has become surprisingly consistent. His program initially was largely simple games; some of which were of their own creation. Much to Tony's dismay they displayed a remarkable lack of athletic ability and coordination. They were primitive and uncontrolled in their behavior and relationships. Most of the boys in this group had never seen the many attractions of this city nor had they been outside the city limits. When he sent the boys post cards while on a trip, this was the first mail they had ever received. In recent months a gradual shift has been taking place, so that the program has included frank and spontaneous discussions of their problems.

Model #3: The Case Work Approach

This was an attempt to use a probation counselor in the traditional 'one to one' method except that we tried to 'beef-up' the counselors effectiveness by having him work more intensively with a limited case load of 8-15 cases. A second variable was the use of professional social case work supervision. The probation counselor working in this area is Mr. Keith McHugh, who came to the project as a recent college graduate and was untrained in

probation work. His original case load of 8 boys, ages 10 to 15, were culled from known Glue-Sniffers already on probation. Over a period of time the case load was expanded to a total of 15 cases with 13 cases being the average. Four cases have been terminated as improved.

Investigation and intervention involved working primarily in three areas:

1. Individual Counseling: Each boy was seen for at least one hour per week and more frequently as indicated.
2. Work with Families
 - a. First effort was made to help the parents with their problems.
 - b. The parents were helped to better understand the boys problems and how they could help.
 - c. Help was given to improve relationships between the boys and their families; in some instances on a family therapy basis.
3. Work with the Community: Every attempt was made to work with those forces and agencies that had some impact on the boys daily life. We found that cooperative efforts between the teacher and school social worker and our probation counselor did influence school attendance and school behavior. Other community resources were utilized as indicated, such as recreational facilities, the neighborhood health center, or the children's diagnostic center, etc. When a boy was confined, the counselor worked with Juvenile Hall and Boys' School Staffs to provide as much information and continuity as possible. Mr. McHugh feels that his goals in working with his boys were to see the problems through their eyes and to help them examine their relationships with their families, peers, teachers and himself. They were also helped to examine their own goals, modes of behavior and self-concept. Often the counseling was conducted informally in the neighborhoods while on walks or at play.

Summary and Conclusions

Despite limitations of area and numbers, we did have an opportunity to work intensively with a selected number of Glue-Sniffers. In the process of this study we were able to incorporate a number of measures, which although tried or even proven elsewhere, were innovations to the average traditional court setting, at least in the combinations used in this project. Some of these innovations include:

1. Neighborhood based probation counselors with round the clock availability.
2. Use of full-time group workers! We believe the use of group work program and skills to be more effective than traditional reporting with Glue-Sniffers. We feel that the utilization of the peer group is a powerful force for motivating, controlling and affecting change.
3. Attempts to compare the effectiveness of group work versus case work methods with delinquents. Preliminary findings would indicate that the peer group approach seems to be the most effective.
4. Use of indigenous leaders as quasi representatives of the court.
5. Use of special teachers and special classes to help boys learn at their own rate (to better tolerate school).
6. Use of professional staff, in training and supervising probation counselors, indigenous workers and untrained personnel.
7. Attempt to coordinate and consolidate the positive forces in a boy's life! When the efforts of home, school, court and other community agencies were coordinated the help was more effective and better results were obtained. Are our present methods obsolete or do we need to use them longer more effectively?

Glue-Sniffing

Some of the preliminary observations we have to report at this time is the belief that Glue-Sniffing is a socio-economic, rather than a racial or ethnic phenomenon. It apparently has a 'fad' component which is symptomatic rather than a new menace. Needless to say, glue has many advantages which would explain its popularity and widespread use. It provides an inexpensive 'kick' and is legally obtainable.

There is reason to believe that it provides the very young with their own means to escape, or their reality, which is perhaps modeled after the 'kicks' that parents or other adults use in their neighborhoods such as alcohol, drugs or sex. Because of the oppressive conditions under which these kids live and the high levels of anomie, the use of glue has a high escape value. As the boys get older, more status is associated with wine, beer, and girls, and unless the pattern has been broken most glue-sniffers graduate to something more "adult" and status giving. Rather than attempt to stamp out glue-sniffing, which the boys themselves testify cannot be done, we have tried to improve the user's self-image, build confidence and help them see that through their own efforts they can build some measure of hope for the future. We have not always approved of their behavior but have tried not to be punitive or rejecting. Our goal was to help them see that their attitudes and behavior can effect their success or failure in life and they had some responsibility for themselves and their futures.

Because of time limitations it is not possible to discuss all of our many observations and clinical "hunches." Perhaps this is just as well, since we need further time for fact finding, and the opportunity to further sift out information contained in the reams of case and group record material we have accumulated. By the time we publish our final report in June I'm certain that our records and testing will better document some of the conclusions we have reached thus far. About all I can say further is that we feel that we have tested some of the new methods by which courts can work more effectively with delinquent adolescents. We also believe that our experiences have demonstrated a more efficient means of investigating and intervening in the problem of glue-sniffing. We think our final findings will show that skilled leadership, exercising interest, fairness, patience and tolerance can motivate the glue-sniffer to give up his self-destructive patterns of behavior.

REPORT ON THE PROBLEM OF GLUE SNIFFING IN CHILDREN
AND THE WORK OF THE NEW YORK CITY POLICE
DEPARTMENT AND ITS YOUTH INVESTIGATION
BUREAU IN COMBATING THIS PROBLEM

by

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New York City at this time has two laws relative to glue-sniffing. The first is found in Section 173.19 of the New York City Health Code--"Glues and Cements Containing Volatile Solvents," adopted February 21, 1964. This law forbids selling or giving to anyone under 18 years any glue or cement unless as part of a kit simultaneously purchased, or to a person having an identification card of a hobby association approved by the Health Department. The second law is found in Section 1747F, Penal Law, subdivision 4, "Selling or Offering to Sell Glue for the Purpose of Sniffing," and in subdivision 2 of the same section, "Sniffing Glue--Indulging or Possessing with Intent to Use, Toxic Substance."

The history leading to this legislation is as follows: In 1963 the Youth Division of the New York City Police Department became aware of a serious community problem, which was having a deleterious effect on the health and safety of an increasing number of juveniles. Community and educational groups, newspapers and Police Department records confirmed that glue sniffing had become an increasingly popular and dangerous practice among youths throughout the city. The Health Department at this time was also concerned with this problem. A bill had been introduced in the City Council asking for action by the Health Department.

On June 13, 1963, a meeting of wholesalers of "Hobby Glue" was held at the Hotel Commodore. Officials of the Hobby Industries Association, representatives of City Departments, and representatives of the manufacturers were present. At this meeting the Assistant Health Commissioner stated that the Health Department had decided to amend the Health code, but had agreed to wait one month to give the Hobby Industry, at their request, an opportunity to correct the condition. Other speakers from the New York City Youth Board and the Youth Division stressed the dangers involved and the fact that this practice was increasing at an alarming rate. The meeting was adjourned with the promise of the Hobby Industry and the Manufacturers to try to correct this condition "within the industry."

At this time the Youth Division embarked on a vast preventative campaign. The Precinct Youth Patrolmen interviewed all stationery store owners in the city and elicited their cooperation. The dangers of glue sniffing were outlined. Despite the work of the Youth Division

and the efforts of the Hobby Industry, cases continued to rise. In 1962 the Youth Records Bureau received 780 cases involving glue sniffing. In 1963 this figure rose to 2003. It was evident that legislation was imperative.

On December 16, 1963 a meeting was held at our request at the office of the Health Commissioner, attended by representatives of the Health Department, the Youth Division, the Police Narcotics Bureau and the Police Legal Bureau. The Deputy Commissioner of the Youth Program stressed the seriousness of the rise in glue sniffing cases, the failure of the industry to stem this rise, and strongly urged prompt legislation.

On December 17, 1963 another meeting was held in the Board Room at the Department of Health, attended by officials of the Bureaus and Departments listed in the preceding paragraph. All recommended legislation. The Youth Division representative outlined the following reasons:

A - The manufacturers had demonstrated their inability to cope with the problem. Since their request that they be allowed to correct the condition within the industry the reported cases have increased rather than decreased.

B - The Police Department was powerless to prevent the indiscriminate sale of glue to children without legislation. Although the Youth Division could warn the merchants of the dangers of glue sniffing and request their cooperation, this cooperation was on a voluntary basis.

C - The grave dangers involved made it almost necessary for strong enforcement. Included in our reports were two accidental deaths of boys who were sniffing glue immediately prior to these accidents. Other cases indicate that youths, under the influence of glue, have been rendered helpless on the public streets.

D - It was felt that legislation would not harm the manufacturers or the Hobby Industry. Their representatives publicly stated that they were not in business to sell glue to children per se. They sell model ship or plane kits and the glue is merely one part of the kit, although a necessary one. If the proposed legislation permitted the sale of glue with the accompanying kit, legitimate purchasers would not be deterred.

At the conclusion of the testimony the Board unanimously approved the proposed legislation in principle with final action on January 21, 1964.

On September 1, 1965 the Penal Law was changed as a result of increasing pressure throughout the state. The New York City Police Department also recommended that this law be passed although not in its present form.

The following are the statistics on glue sniffing within New York City for the period from 1962 to 1966, inclusive:

	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>	<u>Total</u>
<u>1962</u> (8 months)	560	32	780
<u>1963</u>	1861	142	2003
<u>1964</u>	1184	123	1307
<u>1965</u>	1053	120	1173
<u>1966</u> (8 months)	612	96	708

Note: In September, 1962, a special category was set up for glue sniffing. This accounts for lack of statistics before that date.

It might be interesting to compare the factors present in the following illustrative cases with the findings presented by Dr. Hanson yesterday.

The case of Richard L., 11 years: The child was brought to Juvenile Term Court after he had been reported to the Youth Division seven times within a four month period. The investigation disclosed that the onset of these complaints coincided with a paramour moving into the home to live with his mother. Richard began to sniff glue habitually, keep late hours and associate with bad companions. The mother stated she could not control him and requested placement. Her attitude was indifferent and rejecting. She stated she wanted to work full time while admitting that she was unable to provide proper supervision for Richard when she worked part time. She also stated that her paramour wanted the boy out of the home and refused to pay the rent if the boy remained. A neglect petition was signed by the Youth Division officer and a finding of neglect made by the court.

The case of Gerard T., 12 years: This child was brought to Juvenile Term Court after coming to the attention of the police nine times within one year. There were three open, current complaints at the time of the court action, two for sniffing glue and one for petty larceny. The investigation disclosed that the child was sniffing glue daily, chronically truanting from school, keeping late hours and completely beyond the control of his mother, who, herself was emotionally unstable and in need of psychiatric help. After consulting with various agencies the conclusion was reached that the boy's record precluded voluntary placement, and that placement was definitely needed. The mother agreed to sign a court petition to secure the necessary help for her son. She signed a Person in Need of Supervision petition. A finding was made, the child was remanded to Youth House and psychiatric examination of mother and child was ordered.

The case of Gregory P., 9 years: The child was referred to the Guidance Institute of Catholic Charities because of his disturbed pattern of behavior. As a result of their study, placement was recommended. Before any voluntary placement planning could be made, the child came to the attention of this Bureau under very serious circumstances. He was found ill on the street at 7:15 on a summer evening. The following investigation disclosed that this youngster stayed out until 11 PM habitually and that his mother did not know his whereabouts. He was a chronic glue sniffer, coming home with his clothes stained with glue frequently. In addition, he was a chronic truant. The mother stated that the child was disobedient and beyond her control. His behavior was definitely detrimental to his health and safety. The case was taken to Juvenile Term Court where the mother signed a Person in Need of Supervision petition. A finding was made and Gregory was paroled in his mother's custody pending a home investigation and a study of psychiatric reports from Catholic Charities.

The case of Wayne C., 9 years: The following complaints were received on this boy who lives in midtown Manhattan:

- 1 - April 7, 1963; found at 41 Street between 7 and 8 Avenues at 8 PM sniffing glue and acting in a disorderly manner.
 - 2 - April 20, 1963; found in the hallway of 431 West 45th Street, irrational as a result of sniffing glue, at 9:40 PM.
 - 3 - May 6, 1963; found at 9:05 PM at 46th Street and 10th Avenue as part of a group of known habitual glue sniffers.
- The case was taken to Juvenile Term Court and accepted for 60 days supervision at Probation Intake.

4 - October 23, 1963; found on Pier 90 of the Hudson River, sniffing glue. The child was in such an intoxicated condition that the officer who found him took him to a nearby hospital. His behavior was so irrational there, that he was taken to Bellevue Hospital as a psychiatric case and later released. Home investigation disclosed that the mother refused to cooperate with school and police authorities, that the child was a chronic truant from school and was not receiving proper parental supervision. It was necessary for the Youth Division officer to secure a warrant from the Court after signing a Person in Need of Supervision petition. The mother and child were brought into court on the warrant. A finding was made on November 27, 1963 and a full investigation was ordered by the presiding magistrate.

The case of George T., 13 years: The following complaints were received on this boy:

1 - October 10, 1962; George appeared voluntarily at the 20th Precinct Station house to ask for help in breaking the glue sniffing habit which he said he had had for a month.

This boy was an honor student in school. A referral was made to the Metropolitan Hospital, Mental Hygiene Clinic.

2 - October 15, 1962; found by the Bronx Youth Patrol sniffing glue in the street.

3 - February 18, 1963; reported for sniffing glue and drinking alcoholic beverages in school. Following this complaint, the boy stopped going to Metropolitan Hospital and his grandmother brought him to a private psychiatrist for treatment.

4 - September 8, 1963; George ran away to Atlantic City. When he returned to New York he was taken to Juvenile Term Court as a Person in Need of Supervision. A finding was made and he was remanded to Youth House pending investigation and planning.

The case of Philip C., 14 years: The child was found on the street in the 68th Precinct in Brooklyn at 6:50 PM on December 3, 1963 and was pronounced dead on arrival at Maimonides Hospital. Philip and his two brothers were sniffing glue in a hallway on the date of occurrence. After sniffing the airplane glue, Philip told his brothers that he was hot and needed air. He went on to the roof, rested on the ledge looking down to the street. He then told his brother that he was going to climb down to the lower ledge. He was unable to reach the ledge and fell to the street.

The case of Billy G., 13 years: The child was found in an alley way by a police officer in the 61st Precinct in Brooklyn. Taken to Kings County Hospital, he was pronounced dead on arrival. He fell from the roof, where, according to a 13-year-old companion, he had been sniffing glue.

I speak strictly from a police viewpoint. In New York City our problem is with glue sniffing and little else.

A study in depth of the above cases was made, as well as a review of reports from other sections of the country. The underlying factors are elusive to ascertain. However, the following points are important. The practice is symptomatic of social illness in the individual and seems to be closely connected to environment and family. The majority of cases were of lower socio-economic status. There seems to be a corresponding problem of rejection and/or neglect on the part of the parents. In New York most of the children were of Spanish-American origin. A study of New York City statistics indicates that 89 per cent of the youths involved were also involved in other delinquency. School attendance rates are lower and school dropout rates higher for glue sniffers than for non glue sniffers. Deportment grades of glue sniffers are lower than those of other children. The marital status of parents of glue sniffers is as follows: married, 30 per cent; separated, or divorced, 20 per cent; never married, 40 per cent; other status, 10 per cent.

There is evidence that glue sniffing leads to addiction to other drugs. Of a total of 468 cases checked, it was found that in 34 cases the youths involved were subsequently involved in other narcotics. This figure appears relatively low; however, it is significant that a good portion fell between the ages of eight and thirteen years, approximately 60 per cent. The statistics were taken from the year 1963. The age at which most youths start using marijuana or heroin is 16. It is too early to conduct a valid study as whether glue sniffing leads to other drugs.

Role of Police

The members of the patrol force in the Police Department, Youth Patrolmen, members of the Detective Youth Squads and the Youth Investigation Bureau are always on the alert to apprehend unscrupulous sellers of glue who violate the law. Numerous summons have been served and arrests made. It is this aggressive police action that accounted for the sharp decrease in cases. But the problem is still great and constant vigilance on the part of law enforcement bodies is needed.

How to Treat Individuals

The Youth Investigation Bureau of the Police Department in New York City plays an important role in processing glue sniffing reports. The officer on patrol records the incident of glue sniffing on a Youth Division 1 referral card and forwards this report to the Youth Investigation Bureau office that covers the youth's resident precinct. The investigator assigned clears the case for a prior record, obtains a Social Service Clearance (which indicated family's prior contacts with social agencies, welfare agencies and courts), interviews the complainant and reporting officer, and then interviews the child and his parents. Based on his investigation the officer may refer the child to a social work agency or to a hospital. He may also bring the child into court as a neglected child or a person in need of supervision. There is a third alternative. If this is a first offense and the background and prognosis are favorable, with the parents interested, cooperative and capable of recognizing and correcting the problem, the case may be closed as No Other Services Indicated.

The problem is still a great one. As evidenced in the case studies, glue sniffing is a serious, dangerous habit. In New York City it seems to be more than a passing fad, as indicated by our record from 1962 to 1967. It is significant that a majority of the youths reported in these cases are also involved in other delinquencies, some of them very serious in nature. A program of vigorous law enforcement plus increased community involvement is not only vital, but necessary.

JUVENILE SUBSTANCE ABUSE IN PHILADELPHIA

by

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Philadelphia is an urban center with a population of some two million people. The greater Philadelphia area, or Delaware Valley as it is known, includes approximately six million. The socio-economic factors which govern the area are, of course, complex but generally, they follow the pattern of most cities on the east coast. Approximately 27% (600,000) of the city's population is listed as non-white and roughly the same number are classified in the poverty category (650,000), that is, belonging to a household in which the income level is below \$3,000 per year. It should not be construed that because the population is about one-fourth non-white, so, therefore, is the poverty category. Obviously, there is a great deal of significance in the similarity of these two figures.

In the city proper, during 1965, there were 26,072 police contacts with juveniles not including truancy and curfew violations. This is the last year for which complete statistics are available although I have been informed that those for 1966 will not vary to any great degree. These 26,000 contacts included 19,859 separate acts. 20,000 of the juveniles are brought in on charges of vandalism or acts of a criminal nature. If, for example, there were a burglary and five boys were arrested, this item would be listed as one act but five police contacts. We divide police contacts into two categories--remedial and arrest. The remedial involves the juvenile who is held by the Juvenile Aid Division Officer, whose parents are contacted, whose record is marked regarding his being held for a remedial, but about whom no further action is taken. The arrest, of course, necessitates action by the county court or one of its agencies.

Of these 26,000 police contacts, there were 11,102 arrests broken down into 5,364 Part I or major offenses--including larceny, aggravated assault, carrying a concealed deadly weapon, homicide, etc.--and 5,738 Part II or minor offenses--misdemeanors, disorderly conduct and so on. Now, to get to the basic point: Of this entire total of police contacts, there was a grand sum of 65 cases attributed to glue sniffing in the year 1965 in Philadelphia. This amounts to .3% of all juvenile cases.

Philadelphia has no legal statute per se against glue sniffing. The individuals are generally brought in on charges of disorderly conduct for their own safety in view of the bizarre type of behavior exhibited. Individuals are brought in on a notation of the officer because there's no statute against glue-sniffing. Ninety-nine per cent of the cases involved boys; about 65% of these involved Caucasians, the remainder obviously being listed as non-white. Puerto Ricans are placed in the non-white category.

From these brief statistics, one would assume that Philadelphia has no glue sniffing problem. In fact, nothing could be further from the truth. Legislation is pending before Philadelphia's City Council which would limit the sale of glue to adults and minors with parental consent, certain exclusions being made for the initial supply in airplane kits, etc. There has been some publicity on the topic and occasional spurts of concern regarding substance abuse in general but the future of the legislation now pending is uncertain.

One must, however, look at the glue sniffing problem from the point of view of the practitioner in the fields of welfare, social work and corrections to discover the true extent of the problem. Workers in areas outside the hard core slums, receive numerous complaints from residents on the subject.

During the time I worked as a District Supervisor for a street corner agency, the Philadelphia Association for Youth, we received an average of one or two complaints weekly from community groups in our area, which was South Philadelphia. I am told by my colleagues in other agencies that this is at least equally as prevalent in other areas including the Greater Northeast and the far edges of West Philadelphia . . . all of these being generally classified as either lower middle or middle class residential areas. For your information, incidentally, there is no East Philadelphia. That area is known as Camden, New Jersey. This is one of William Penn's little idiosyncrasies with which one learns to live.

In the Greater Northeast, the glue sniffing problem seems to reach a peak in the predominantly Jewish and Catholic neighborhoods. Several areas are noted where candy stores make an income from glue sniffing alone and on any given weekend night, one can see piles of model kits in the store's trash with the glue removed. There is an area in the heart of the Jewish community known as "Sniffers Nob."

As is true throughout the country, glue sniffing is found primarily among boys between the ages of 13 and 16. These boys are regarded as being in the pre-delinquent stage although they are termed gang members. However, by the Philadelphia gang classification system, they belong to Type 3 gangs or the least dangerous. By definition, members of this sort of gang are noisy, boisterous, a nuisance to the community, engaged in petty acts of mischief and delinquency. However, generally speaking, they do not engage in overt crimes of violence and are not an overall threat to the community.

Feasible intervention by those working with the glue sniffers in Philadelphia must be examined in the light of the total juvenile problem in the city. While the rate of juvenile delinquency has not gone up but rather decreased slightly over the past two or three years, it still accounts for more than 50% of the major crimes committed in the city of Philadelphia. We still have 15 to 20 homicides per year from juvenile fighting and literally hundreds of injuries from stabbings, shootings and severe beatings. We still have the story of teenage terror because of the control of these gangs and their territorial warfare. We have severe problems of illegitimacy. We have hard core slum areas in which one out of every four Philadelphians lives. These factors produce immense burdens which consume the city's attention and, for that matter, its resources. Examined in this light, it is easy to understand why glue sniffing control programs have not been developed on any large scale. Generally speaking, the glue sniffer who encounters personal problems is a member of a family who, because of its middle socio-economic status, is better able, both financially and emotionally, to make use of private resources for treatment and therapy such as psychologists and religious family agencies. Another factor that comes into play is being of the middle class and having access to social agencies such as legal aid and the fact that there's no statute against glue-sniffing, the police either adjust it at the station house or don't indicate the offense as being glue-sniffing or any other form of substance abuse, therefore the statistics are thrown off.

It is significant to note that one of the agencies in Philadelphia doing the greatest amount of work with glue sniffers and their families is the Jewish Family Service whose staff reports that most of their clients come to them voluntarily. The Health Department, correctional institutions, area youth work agencies,

settlement houses, etc. also treat the glue sniffer as he appears in their case loads adapting their own discipline to the specific instance. There is no generalized specific approach in working with glue sniffers and there are also very few statistics.

While the problem is increasing and appears to be setting a trend toward more advanced forms of substance abuse, it has still not achieved major proportions in Philadelphia as it seems to have done in our neighboring cities. Philadelphia may or may not be unique in this relatively low level of substance abuse, but I think it is, however, an interesting phenomenon that this low level is even surpassed in the area of drug addiction. There have been virtually no significant cases of teenage drug addiction in the Philadelphia area while 90 miles away in New York, there is perhaps the most severe drug addiction problem in the entire country. On the other hand, it is my impression that open gang warfare and other overt forms of acting-out behavior are more prevalent and intense in Philadelphia than in its surrounding cities. It would seem that drug addiction and other retreatist forms of behavior supplant the gang structure. However, as I have said, this is only an impression which I can not validate through research statistics. Gang fighting is a socially much less expensive problem than drug addiction because a gang member, if you can work with him, grows out of that stage whereas with a heroin addict you have a lot more of a problem on your hands.

There are, however, some plans afoot for doing experimental work with glue sniffers and others participating in drug abuse. The basic premise must be that the problem is a serious one and does affect a segment of our community. I am involved in a peripheral way with one program which will attempt to examine the psychosocial networks of teenage dangerous drug users. Let me point out that this does not include users of heroin but does include users of these other drugs which effect the central nervous system, i. e. glue, amphetamines, barbiturates, codeine, etc.

The investigators will examine the significant social networks of the adolescent (aged 13 to 21) with the goal of obtaining a demographic map of each individual in the network. Reason for working with the network of the individual adolescent--it is assumed that his network is intact and in one area where as a person gets older and moves around more and more he tends to establish more and more contacts and the network becomes much too diffused to work with. They will work with the family, other significant social

groupings including peers and will attempt to analyze the personalities, their relationships and so on. Some of this information will be obtained through interviews and some through psychological testing. The research project, which is being carried out under the auspices of a local medical college, will utilize the abilities of psychiatrists, psychologists, anthropologists, sociologists and social workers, in order to involve all possible disciplines. They will be looking for clues concerning the function of drug use in the family and the effect of the peer group upon the individual. Since there are a variety of legal problems incumbent with a project such as this and which are now being worked out with police, court and federal officials, I am not at liberty to discuss it in more detail at this time.

I may, however, mention that while not negating the value of the one to one therapist-client relationship, in this case it is not deemed to be significant as an agent for change in the client because the therapist is not available to act as an influence upon the drug user at all times. Even if the professional were to be in contact with the substance abuser four hours a week, which is an enormous amount of time for a practitioner when one considers that the average Philadelphia probation officer carries a case load of up to 150, the total environment works upon the boy in a contradictory fashion during the remainder of the week. The assumption of this study is, of course, that the environment is negative and that, therefore, the therapist must interject himself into the entire network in order to produce beneficial results. This requires very sophisticated techniques of therapy and a rather considerable knowledge of the sociological patterns of the community-- a knowledge similar in many ways to that which has been developed by detached street workers for some time.

Theoretically, by imposing the professional into and therapeutically interjecting him into the social net, he is able to turn the entire group so that they become, in a sense, his co-therapists therefore support the drug user at all times. The professional can also discover the pressures which are born by the individual's net or peer group, alleviate these, and thereby aid the group as a whole. Perhaps you can help a net and we think you can but this again is treating a symptomatic problem. There will be other acts and other boys falling into this pattern and while you've got to help the person who is disturbed, you've got to help these individuals until you start attacking the entire basic problem: the ghetto will continue

producing and forming and while your techniques are beautiful you aren't getting to the basic problems. But you've got to have the techniques. But it should be noted, as in every type of therapy involving the social net, the professional starts with the individual and branches out to the group.

The presumption here, of course, is that although the individual glue sniffer may be disturbed, he is reacting to certain pressures which are placed upon the entire group and that this behavior is constantly being reinforced within the group. This is a significant point and is in opposition to the theory that the drug user is suffering solely from personal disorganization and is, therefore, an individual deviant from his own society.

I think it would also be well to mention here some rather interesting information gleaned from my work in the corrections field. While substance abuse is certainly not the most common juvenile problem in a city such as Philadelphia, and while glue sniffing is almost totally absent among Negro juveniles, both are prevalent and potentially severe problems in correctional institutions. The representatives from the Philadelphia County Courts cannot recall ever hearing of a Negro juvenile ever being brought to their attention in connection with glue sniffing or as a direct result of it. A survey among Negro students at both the North and South Philadelphia Youth Development Centers show them to be extremely well acquainted with the techniques involved in glue sniffing. Publicity or not they knew what to do. They chose not to do it. They are participants only in other forms of substance abuse. If they (Negro boys) don't use glue they use paint thinners, solvents, lacquers, etc. whatever you want. The Negro substance abuse problem in Philadelphia is codeine cough medicine mixed with wine. But the problem in institutions themselves, is found across the board with the Negro being no exception. More to the point and perhaps more interesting is the fact that there is a considerably smaller problem with dangerous drug use or substance-abuse in the newer and therefore lower security institutions despite populations similar to those in the more confined setting. I think it is obvious, therefore, that the smaller the amount of unresolvable pressure brought to bear upon the group, the less the need will be for retreatist forms of behavior. In minimum security institutions we do bring pressure upon boys but we also give them a way of resolving it. This is what we mean turning it on the boys themselves. In a maximum security institution sometimes there is no way, nothing a boy can do except conform.

Certainly, therefore, this pilot research project involving the social net of the glue sniffer should prove the point in a most positive way. Obviously, the project is an expensive one; it will deal with perhaps no more than ten dangerous drug users whose total combined social network may include as many as 500 people. It is anticipated, of course, that the peer groups in the social net will include others with the same glue sniffing problem. The basic premise, if proven correct, can be moderated to set up floating programs designed to serve the individual, his family and the community. This program, utilizing less highly trained personnel and serving larger groups, becomes a significant step. Here there is great similarity to the modus operandi of the street corner worker who is available in the community 30 or 40 hours per week and perhaps even 70 or 80 hours in periods of crisis. This detached worker deals with the whole group and attempts to analyze the problems confronting the whole as well as dealing with the individual differences of the group members. This method has been successful in Philadelphia in dealing with gang warfare and racial difficulties and I think it is promising for positive intervention in substance abuse. Therapy will not be done in the hospital or an institution. It will be done in the homes, on the streets, wherever the problem is, that's where they're going to help. The fact that these are not psychiatrists going out into this area is highly significant. The unholy alliance I find myself in with them is to get them to know the junkies, the street corners, the back alleys, the gang leaders, the people who are significant.

The Youth Development Centers in Philadelphia will be cooperating with the staff of the research project mentioned through referrals, and will make an effort to gear the release of a boy to a time when environmental changes have already taken place and his reinstatement in the community can be effectively handled.

As Assistant Director of the South Philadelphia Youth Development Center, I am actively engaged in a major research project which will evaluate the effectiveness of traditional casework, family therapy and peer group therapy methods on a thousand boys with the same number drawn from other institutions being used as control groups. The grant we have received from the Children's Bureau will enable us to carry out exhaustive studies over a five year period including more than 20 hours of psychological testing per boy and lengthy follow-up after release. We are experimenting with an approach above the standard institutional program consisting

of co-joint family therapy on some boys, co-joint peer group therapy on others. Negro enhancement courses on still others, while holding other boys as a control group. To eliminate the variable between our institutional program and that of others we are having several other institutions which we are holding as control groups. Their attitudinal studies will be compared as they go through the procedure and they will be followed yearly for the next 5 years. We are trying to see how successful this therapy will be in the milieu in which we are now working.

This milieu is considered to be the lowest socio-economic class boy from the hard core slum area. So we are trying to work with this type of therapy and this type of boy. We expect that at least 5% of our group will have a glue sniffing problem and that an even larger number will be involved in other forms of substance abuse. The results of this research should give us conclusive evidence regarding the effectiveness of the various techniques in handling a variety of juvenile delinquency problems under carefully controlled research conditions.

IDENTIFICATION OF THE PROBLEM
OF SUBSTANCE ABUSING ADOLESCENTS:
THE PROBLEM OF AMPHETAMINE ABUSE

by

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A Midwestern Metropolitan Area Pattern of Abuse

"Splash" came to the area in the late 1950's. ("Splash" is a local term referring to amphetamine hydrochloride sulphate when shot intravenously by the user.) The introduction of amphetamines on the street came at a time when the heroin market was precarious. Pressure was on because of the wounding of a federal investigator, who, nevertheless, had broken the ring of pushers. The local crime syndicate had decided to get out of the heroin market, leaving the field open to independent operators, or "Cowboys" who in turn were being arrested quite regularly. Heroin was not only scarce, but of increasingly poor quality, most of it 3% pure or less. Splash filled the void, slowly at first, but rapidly increasing until in 1963 it was the chief drug in use on the streets.

The following table shows the comparison of heroin arrest rates and arrest rates for amphetamine users in St. Louis since 1959.

<u>Year</u>	<u>Amphetamine</u>	<u>Arrests</u> <u>Heroin</u>
1959	18	45
1960	23	89
1961	65	65
1962	81	60
1963	170	87
1964	--	--
1965	286	68

As the use of amphetamines spread locally, slang was developed to describe it. Most of the words are common elsewhere, but the meanings vary somewhat with locale.

"Splash" was used in both a generic sense, that is to refer to all the amphetamine powders or ampules and sometimes in a specific sense to refer to amphetamine sulphate. Splash was so named, it is said, because the effect of shooting it is like having "ice cold water thrown in your face." It is claimed by many to cause penile erections and sometimes orgasm.

"Spliven," "grease," and "Rhythm" are other names used interchangeably for the amphetamines. Spliven is sometimes used to refer to methyl amphetamine hydrochloride, or to dextro amphetamine sulphate and is preferred over splash by some users who claim that you hallucinate less on spliven and it gives you more drive. Several addicts explain the difference between "spliven" and "splash" as being like the difference between "whiskey and wine."

Use of amphetamine in pill or capsule form is graded as the lowest level of usage by the users. This is followed by "vaylo" usage; and then on the highest level of usage is splash and spliven. A few of the older heroin users were opposed to splash except as a temporary measure, and the switch from heroin was by no means a complete conversion. The conflict over splash pitted these older heroin users against the younger majority who were pro-splash. The old users argued that splash is weaker than heroin and should be used only in emergency or in combination with heroin. The physical consequences of using amphetamines worried them: "Your hair falls out," "it's bad for your hair," or "it makes you crazy." Suspicious of the unpredictable behavior of the splash user, they believed that it interfered with hustling activities and brought heat on the system.

Aligned for splash were the younger users who had switched from heroin or who had always used amphetamines. While they admitted that heroin might have been more powerful in the past, it was no longer true. Referring to the way heroin was sometimes cut, a young user taunted an older user, "You ain't shooting nothing but scouring powder, man, you are the Bon Ami Kid." In a group discussion on the power of the two drugs, one user of splash who had previously used heroin for eight years argued that both drugs were probably equally potent, but in different ways; and pointed out that the two drugs did different things for you and could not be compared on the dimension of potency. Many of the younger users chose the stimulating effects of amphetamine over the dreamy, somnolent effects of the narcotics on much the same basis that they liked rock and roll music and rejected the blues. Splash suited the contemporary mood--it encouraged you to talk, dance,

and be sociable. The advocates for amphetamines were not convinced that it made them less efficient at hustling--they pointed out that splash made them more alert and gave them "more heart." While tripping (the hallucinations that sometimes results from use of splash) admittedly made the user vulnerable, his situation was no worse than that of the anxious heroin user. And his habit could be controlled by barbiturates. Furthermore, the pro-amphetamine majority argued, supplies were easier to get and were available from more sources.

Despite the conflict, intravenous use of amphetamines came to be accepted as more than a substitute during periods when heroin was unavailable, became the drug of first choice for a majority of the drug users in the area.

The user could obtain splash in several ways. He could legitimately obtain it by prescription, or by stealing prescription blanks and forging them, a few drugstores would supply amphetamines without a prescription. Most likely, however, he purchased the drug from a pusher at prices ranging from \$1.00 to \$2.00 a cap. It was sometimes sold by papers or "bindles." The other popular method was to obtain it at a splash house or a splash party.

Originally the splash parties were simply informal gatherings that grew out of the amphetamine user's sociable inclination to indulge his habit in the company of his fellows. Eventually these parties became more organized and evolved into the splash house, an extremely lucrative operation. The operators of splash houses are usually able to get amphetamine powder at about \$9.00 an ounce, which they then adulterate with such cheap extenders as powdered milk, epsom salts, baking soda, quinine, and powdered sugar. By such means one woman who operates a splash house in the area was able to make the remarkable profit of \$3,000.00 from a \$9.00 investment in amphetamine powder.

Pushers obtained supplies of splash by three main methods. During the early period, robbing pharmaceutical supply warehouses in the area provided a substantial amount of splash, but this source disappeared in 1963 when the pharmaceutical companies stopped storing amphetamines in the area. A few drugstores ordered large quantities of various amphetamines for sale to users and pushers, amphetamines could be ordered from smaller pharmaceutical outlets under the pretense of scientific research. Few amphetamines

manufactured by major companies were seen on the street. However, "vaylo" inhalers were not uncommon before they were restricted to prescription use, and some use of the \$.35 Vicks inhaler was made by some younger, beginning users.

The novice can start shooting amphetamines intravenously, but usually it is the practice to start by pill-popping or by the sublingual method. Sometimes the amphetamine is used in combination with another drug or food, for example, "Vaylo" strips are ingested by dipping them in liquids or sometimes eaten on bread as a sandwich. Some users warn against eating cheese while using amphetamines. Apparently this has some merit.

The regular user adopts the intravenous method, using an eye dropper or a No. 26 hypodermic needle, but preferring a Murine eye dropper because it is usually cleaner. The peculiar sharing habits of amphetamine users make them susceptible to infection from dirty needles. One instance is known of forty cases of hepatitis resulting from one dirty needle. There are several techniques for injection with the eye dropper, one aiming at the quickest and fastest way of forcing the powder into the vein, and the other at a more prolonged reaction. Either technique is apt to shock the sensibilities of even the moderately squeamish. There is less concern among the amphetamine users than among heroin users for the ritual of taking the drug, but in contrast to the older heroin user, the younger splashers talk about and anticipate the effects of the drug--what it will do for you.

Whatever his means of taking the drug, the amphetamine user is very likely to get into some kind of trouble with the law once he has become dependent on the drug.

The hustle of the splasher is much the same as that of the "snatch and grab" junkie described by Finestone.¹ That is, they support their habits through petty theft or breaking into cars. A majority of the girls are prostitutes, but few of the males are fortunate enough to have girls who are willing to prostitute or shoplift for them.

¹Harold Finestone, "Narcotics and Criminality," Law and Contemporary Problems (Narcotics), Winter, 1957, 22:69-85.

The relation of drug use to violent crimes is a hard question to answer. For the heroin user, crimes of violence are not as common as crimes against property, and many of the reports of violent behavior resulting from amphetamine use have come from the users themselves. They have described hallucinations with persecution themes that resulted in attacks on innocent bystanders, friends, or policemen, and some users report that violent "stompings" by teenagers have resulted from splashing.

While some of the users claim that splash makes them sexually potent, there have been no reports of sexual assaults by users in the area. Although one of the users, a prostitute, was found strangled, her assailant was not a drug user. Verbal violence in the form of "Jonng" (a local term for "playing the dozens") was common in groups of amphetamine users, but could not be considered distinctive, since it is also quite common to the youth of the larger Negro community. Police reports claim that because of his violent behavior, the splasher is much harder to arrest than the relatively cool heroin junkie, and there is no doubt that use of splash evokes violent behavior in some of the users; however, there is no evidence that this violent behavior is translated into violent crimes.

Conclusion

The pattern I have just described represents the most serious level of amphetamine abuse--in many ways it resembles the traditional "junkie" scene. It is very possible that other drugs and substances can evolve to this level of abuse. Yet clearly the models that describe the heroin user do not describe the "splasher"; the control procedures that are operative for heroin are not applicable for substances like glue.

One step that is imperative if we are to base our control of substances on an intelligent level is the development of a typology of substance abuse. Each substance would be categorized with regard to the types and levels of its actual and potential abuse capabilities and other relevant sociological, psychological, and medical factors. Only then can we build an adequate theory of substance abuse and institute intelligent control procedures. It is conferences like this that will hopefully lead us to this end.

SUBSTANCE ABUSE--A COMMUNITY PROBLEM

THE SCHOOL

by

Dale F. Ely
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Long Beach Unified School District
Long Beach, California

It is impossible to speak for all school districts in the nation, so I shall confine myself to what I conceive to be the problems as observed and reported to me by educators. My point of reference is guidance and discipline plus the utilization of community agencies.

Basically, in handling the substance abuse problem, the same general guidelines are followed that we follow in other delinquent acts at school. First, we review the total picture of the child. We then attempt to guide the child, basing our efforts on causes. Since we believe that most truancy, school failure and delinquency is caused by forces at work outside the school area of influence, we attempt to involve community agencies. All action is joint action. In addition to this we may invoke a special academic program for the benefit of the child.

Substance abuse as seen by the schools could be divided into four distinct parts, public relations, identification of users, cooperation with police and cooperation with the courts.

Regardless of the peculiar circumstances which may surround an incident, the public is shocked by the appearance of such substances (narcotics, alcohol, glue, LSD) in or near the schools. The public often does not show the same concern in the community. They often expect the school to exercise its own police function disregarding police and court.

Staff members must be trained to recognize symptoms of misuse of substances. It is necessary to distinguish between legitimate use and misuse of various drugs.

The relation between school and police is a matter of concern to the school. What is the police reaction to reports from the school? Do they fear we are shouting fire or are they sympathetic to our problem? While we realize the aura of secrecy surrounding a police investigation is necessary, too often school administrators are excluded from information they could use for further leads.

Uniformed police on the grounds can be a disturbing factor, yet they are often necessary. The method of arrest and removal of students can be ill-timed by police not conversant with school techniques in student body control.

Follow-up communication on incidents is important. The disappearance of a pupil does not close a case for us. The pupil may return, before or after a court hearing. Was he released on a technicality? Is there danger in his presence?

In California, courts require evidence of intent to establish juvenile court jurisdiction, whereas, the Education Code requires only possession for disciplinary action. There is a vast difference between the two requirements.

At times, the pupil is known to be deeply involved, but must be released or dismissed by the court on lack of sufficient evidence. The return of the student to school creates disciplinary problems of varying magnitude. The student who goes before the court where the petition is sustained and released on probation can be a problem, but supervision and agency teamwork will reduce such a problem to a minimum. The student returned from a court placement is usually presumed rehabilitated. The problem is to get individual school administrators to accept him. He has a right to an education.

In summary, it appears that the most serious potential problems are: public reaction to substance abuse in the schools, simple, tentative identification of users, less secrecy in police action and most important, a closer working relationship with the courts. We would wish that the courts would receive and consider information offered by the schools. It is our hope that police understand the function of the school in its group control problems. In closing, may I remind you that teamwork is essential!

SUBSTANCE ABUSE--A COMMUNITY PROBLEM

by

Milton Luger
Director, New York State Division of Youth
Albany, New York

Today I will attempt to bring you the dope from New York. We of the Division of Youth in New York State do not claim to be expertize on this subject, but I would intreat you to reconsider some beliefs which are popular rather than scientific. Articles in the press make much of the fact that substance abusers have committed such acts as jumping off a roof or committing prostitution for ten cents. Physical effects such as excessive weight loss are emphasized. Our interest is less with the sensational and more with realistic attempts to find a solution. It is my purpose here to indicate the identity and characteristics of the substance abusing child and to conclude with a brief outline of the approaches used by the New York Division of Youth.

What is the extent of the problem in New York State?
Reports from New York City are as follows:

1962	800 cases
1963	2000 cases
1964	1200 cases
1965	1100 cases
1966	1100 cases

The bulk of these reports showed users in the age category, 13-15 years. In Buffalo there were ten cases reported in the city and 15 cases in the suburbs.

Who are the substance abusers? The literature of Massengale* and Glaser and Ellison** suggest large percentages of the children involved are in minority groups.

*O. N. Massengale and Helen H. Glaser, "Glue Sniffing in Children," Journal of the American Medical Association, July 28, 1962.

**Willie S. Ellison, "Portrait of a Glue Sniffer," Crime and Delinquency, National Council on Crime and Delinquency, 44 East 23rd St., New York, New York, October, 1965 (Vol. 11, #4).

According to my sources these youngsters are characterized by low IQ's, weak personalities, low achievement, non-participation, passivity, moodiness and a state of withdrawal. Glue sniffing is generally considered to be a group phenomenon, as contrasted to an individual activity.

The following factors appear in Adler's "Social Interest" hypothesis: capacity to understand and accept one's social interrelatedness, ability to empathize with others, capacity to strive to be socially useful and to be in harmony with social realities. In contrast to Adler's theory, we found in our interviews in our centers that glue sniffers tend to be hedonistic, i. e., they want instant gratification and they have no confidence in the future. These children cannot accept responsibility. They like to "bug" their mothers with such remarks as "I'm high!" Their feelings of isolation are obvious for they tend to move in parallel lines in their relationships, i. e., they fail to interact with peers. The boys seem to be pampered by permissive mothers. The handsome ones sometimes become pimps. They express feelings of omnipotence, speak of magic and other mystic type illusions. Such behavior seems to indicate that they are over compensating.

Isolation feelings are combated by resort to the "crew concept." After all, one can "help" a friend by getting him started on glue, i. e. the urgings of a pal to obtain one's participation in the group indicates that someone cares. In short, the social interests of these children leave much to be desired.

What have we done to assist glue sniffers in the Youth Division? In 1962 the Lower East Side Information Service Center for Narcotics Addicts reported on longitudinal studies of 31 glue sniffers. Of these, 19 were either dead, in jail or in mental institutions. The remaining 12 were classified as follows: three were on glue, six were on heroin and three were using alcohol or marijuana. When we add to this the apathy and pessimism in the neighborhood we see that we have a problem of considerable depth in several dimensions and each of which is symptomatic of problems which can be only generally defined.

While I find the Anal Respiratory Intrajection theory of Dr. Gioscia very interesting, it is the policy of the Youth Division to attack the problem from more practical angles. In the first place, we use ex-offenders on the staff. Their specific duties are to help with homework and to discuss problems with the glue sniffers.

In general, the empathy displayed by ex-offenders is of great value. The Block Approach is another tool used by the Youth Division. An area of three or four blocks seems to be most manageable and receptive to our services. Our activities include sports, group discussions, recreation, medical service to families and field trips.

Drug prone young experimenters respond best to workers who care about them. Traditional offenders are effected less by our methods. All offenders anticipate and actually expect rejection, and as a result they do a great deal of "testing. " Therefore, adequate staff who are personally concerned and emotionally involved are a vital part of our program. Group discussions are used as a vehicle for peer pressure to conform to "traditional, socially acceptable" behavior.

In summary, the small group approach of the Block, ex-offenders who empathize with current offenders, and the "caring" attitude of all the staff members are basic components of the Youth Division of the State of New York.

There were three basic reasons for including a workshop session as part of this conference. The first was to involve each participant at the conference, in order that all might benefit from individual successes and failures experienced in dealing with substance abusing youngsters. Additionally, it was hoped that workshops would provide an opportunity for free discussion of presentations made to the conference. Finally, the workshop members were asked to provide clues to future community action. Ways and means were sought to create interest and to organize social institutions in regard to the problem of substance. The following are summaries of workshop discussions.

Summary of Discussion from WORKSHOP "A"

As Presented by Harry Silverstein
School for Social Research
New York City, New York

We are not as yet sure of scope of the problems of substance abuse. We do know that glue-sniffing is a wide-spread practice across the nation. Statistics from such official sources as police departments and courts would indicate that glue-sniffing is not a major problem, but, as we have heard here, glue-sniffing young people who come to the attention of the police and courts constitute only a small percentage of young people actually engaged in the practice. For example, one conference participant has indicated that although there was no official record of glue-sniffing in his community, a community center worker went into the field and personally witnessed more than one hundred instances of substance abuse.

It would appear that there are two orientations toward problems which we, as Americans, don't know much about or don't understand.

There is the alarmist position. We become overly concerned with a problem that is not, in reality, of great magnitude. We imagine troubles which do not really exist.

On the other hand, there is the more permissive attitude. For example, Peyote in New Mexico is used as a part of a religious litany, so it is that marijuana is grown in some southwestern states without a great deal of community alarm.

It is, thus, true that community attitudes influence the approach in handling problems of substance abuse.

Another position which can be--and should be--is to examine glue-sniffing as a symptom of social pathology, in much the same way as alcohol is viewed as symptom of other problems with or within the problem drinker.

It is hypothesized that glue-sniffing is a symptom of social pathology related to the family. Glue-sniffers are experiencing great problems in attempting to adjust to and cope with their milieu--particularly their family milieu.

So, substance abusers are children with problems who speak, and apparently think, only in terms of their own interests, needs, and experiences. The question still remains: why glue? Why any substance? According to the abusers, there is nothing else to do, they are basically concerned with their needs and gratifications, and there are no viable alternatives. Moreover, it is pleasurable.

The type of programs that are needed include:

- 1) Therapeutic intervention, the goal of which is to help the child express and fill his needs in ways which society will interpret as positive.
- 2) Organized youth programs in which young people engage in discussion groups. This makes it possible for these troubled persons to find relief through verbalizing their specific problems.
- 3) Help substance abusing young people devise and utilize activities and forms of dissent which are as meaningful to them as substance abuse practices, but which are more socially acceptable.

Whereas practices of substance abuse are frequently group activities, the use of drugs is highly individualized. Many enlightened persons subscribe to the premise that drug users are persons who have great difficulty in establishing and maintaining meaningful inter-personal relations, and whose degree of socialization is, therefore, considerably less than adequate. Few persons, however, subscribe to the rather extreme view that the use of drugs might be useful in accelerating certain persons' social development. One of the major problems, to date, in working with narcotic addicts is that we tend to design for them programs and therapeutic processes which would be appropriate for us--non-addicts--but the addict is not like us. That is obvious inasmuch as they are addicts.

Another basic issue in attempting to help substance abusing young people is that the coordination among the various community agencies involved. In most communities, the work processes are

divided among the schools, the courts, the police, and community centers. There is an urgent need for continuous evaluation of these programs and their effectiveness. We need less coordination and more communication.

In working with these children, we have to reflect honestly upon our attitudes and orientations. We must be especially careful not to "dehumanize" the substance abuser when establishing a therapeutic program, for his habit has already dehumanized him and deprived him of his dignity to a degree already.

Summary of Discussion from WORKSHOP "B"

As Presented by Dr. Lenore Kupperstein
Research Analyst
University of Puerto Rico
Social Science Research Center
Rio Piedras, Puerto Rico

Possibly the two most basic issues confronting behavioral scientists and child-serving agencies are those of legislation and treatment methods as they relate to substance abusing young people.

On the matter of legislation, it is that if there is a need for legislation, it should be of such a nature as to penalize the seller of the substance for contributing to the delinquency of minors. The constructive legislative model would specifically avoid giving the child the stigma of being a delinquent. It would appear that many, if not most, substance abusing young people are persons who already have psycho-social problems with which they are not successfully coping. To add the stigma of being a delinquent would be to give the child one more problem.

The issue of treatment for substance abusing children forces us to first ponder the problem of the position of juvenile courts. In developing a treatment program for substance abusers, early consideration must be given to the question of how much authority a juvenile court has: in, for example, placing a child in an appropriate program. Another problem which is faced by juvenile courts is that of how much authority should the court confront the substance abusing child with. As was pointed out above, to tag the child a delinquent would be to give him one more problem. The basic problem is, then, how does the court get the child involved in an appropriate program without labeling him a delinquent.

It is generally agreed that programs which are appropriate for substance abusing young people must be treatment-oriented, rather than basically punitive in nature. A review of existing programs in various cities would indicate that--not including creative programs, such as the Denver Juvenile Courts--the following programs are available in many communities.

Milieu therapy--treatment-oriented group living in cottages.

Informal group meetings--group therapy, with close involvement of the fathers of the boys.

Bring into closer working relationships existing service clubs and social welfare agencies. If these resources can successfully detect these "problemated" young people at an early age, it will be easier to work with them. All such work with these individuals should, when practical, be done on a group basis.

Summary of Discussion from WORKSHOP "C"

As Presented by Ralph Tefferteller
Henry Street Settlement House
New York City, New York

Our first concern in regard to future community action is preventative work which must be done before a child gets into court. The education of community institutions, particularly the family, is a great need. A number of publications could be made available to the parents, schools, police and courts so that they may receive reputable information on substance abuse and substance use.

The fear approach is unrealistic in dealing with this perplexing question. Here, again, factual knowledge is the only defense against the paralysis of ignorance. The dynamics behind these statements are the simple fact that what is not understood is feared, and the reaction to fear is anger. We vent anger on the child and lose another chance to help him understand and eventually correct his behavior.

Assuming that children will continue to obtain substances which produce intoxication, euphoria and hallucination, the matter of control should be of prime interest to us. Substance presents a peculiar problem of control because by its very nature it is extremely mobile. Every effort should be made to enlist the cooperation of retail outlets.

Another cardinal principle in working with youth is that we should not warn them of consequences unless we can follow through with constructive action. The adult worker has the responsibility of maintaining his effectiveness through consistency.

There is consensus on the fact that substance abuse is a medical-social problem. We have been trying to prove to ourselves nationally that the use of hard drugs is a medical-social situation and one which can't be solved by harsh punitive methods.

In training personnel, it is suggested that former users become part of the staff as in the Synanon. Those who have been "through the mill" have more ability to cope with the user for they empathize very well with the substance abuser. Not only should the skills of the ex-offender be utilized but we might do well to internalize some of their philosophy, such as open-mindedness, flexibility, and ingenuity. We should continually concentrate on treatment rather than punishment.

Summary of Discussion from WORKSHOP "D"

As Presented by Miss Roberta Wilson
Research Assistant
El Paso Boys' Club
El Paso, Texas

We must consider WHY: why glue; why these particular young people? In communities where substance abusers are members of a cultural or ethnic minority group, we must understand that members of the minority group are torn between two value systems. Thus, we must be cognizant of the forces working on these young minority group members.

One must also be aware of the "type" of youngster with whom we are dealing. We mean "type" in terms of whether this is his first offense, or whether he is an habitual offender. We must gear our approach to the individual, as well as to the group. Glue-sniffing isn't an isolated phenomenon, rather, we must consider it in terms of the total picture: the child himself, his family, his peer group, the schools, the police, and all other institutions impinging on the life of the child.

One would be justified in labeling these children as sociopaths, however, if we are to meaningfully help them, we must, instead, look upon each of them as an individual. We must try to understand their perception of the world--especially their view of the overall society as it effects their aspirations. Unless we can effectively bring about a change in the social perceptions and attitudes of these young people, we can't bring about a significant change in the symptom--the use of substances.

The dynamics that drive a child to substance abuse revolve around the fact that he has a negative self-image. It is impossible to pin-point precisely which of the many forces working on the child produces the poor self-image, but we must do all possible to deal with this negative self-image in terms of child and his community at large. For the destructive forces are in the community. We can relate glue-sniffing to the child's reaction to a situation where he has been relegated to a

passive state. This is especially true for members of minority groups. The pressures of his environment have forced this child to become inactive regarding his self-expression.

The child's attitude becomes one of "It wasn't worth it," or "No one listened to me." His self-expression having become limited, his self-realization becomes a part of his negative self-image. The child wants to get out of this passive state, but he can't do so. Glue-sniffing is a socially significant problem only inasmuch as it is an indication of deeper problems. We must--or at least should--look at the problem in terms of, or as a part of society as a whole, and the forces existing in society. We should also remember that it is these same social forces which cause other--older--persons to become dependent on drugs and medicine.

For minority group members, the problem is essentially that of being members of a sub-cultural group of have-nots, in comparison to the "haves"--society as a whole. For these young people, glue is a way to escape from the realization of the existence of haves and have-nots. Glue is a way to escape from the realization of what he doesn't have, but should have as a part of the Great American Dream--as it is defined.

What can be done

1) The child has this negative self-image, and awareness that there is a difference between two value systems which affect him directly. We must meet the young person on his own territory, and understand him in terms of his own milieu.

2) The child needs ego reinforcement, and a positive role model. We must do everything possible to help change his negative self-image, and to provide him with a positive father image.

3) The child needs success experiences--he's geared to failures. We must first determine what means success to the child, and then help him attain it. The child will have to be reinforced both on an individual basis, and as a part of group-based experiences. This child must be helped to understand that competition is actually one of his rights. Competition should be an important vehicle for successful intervention. It should be also

remembered that the child's parents need success experiences, for in raising the child, for example, their failures are forever with them. As the child begins to succeed, we must help the parents to feel that child's successes would have been impossible were it not for them. Thus, the parents are reinforced.

We see, then, that the problem of substance abuse must be handled at three levels: the child, the family, and the community. At the community level, all available resources must be mobilized into a comprehensive network which will provide coordinated services for the substance-abusing youngster and his family. Lay people should be trained to work with these people so that when special demonstration projects have run their course, someone will be available to carry on the necessary work. It is generally felt that groups are the most effective therapeutic vehicle for moving the child toward better interaction in his own subculture, and in turn, to the greater culture (society) to which he's exposed.

AN APPEAL FOR EARLY AND INTENSIVE INTERVENTION

by

The Honorable Ted Rubin
Denver Juvenile Court
Denver, Colorado

As this conference is approaching its conclusion, it is apparent that we did not call you together only to explain and discuss our achievements, but to share your experiences, ideas, and concerns relative to substance abuse practices by young people. When we did tell you of our successes, we did so in the hope that you will go back to your communities, and further improve upon our approach and adapt it to your needs.

I trust it is clear that if these youngsters are to be helped, the entire spectrum of community agencies and child-serving resources must be heavily involved. This includes the police, the schools, community centers, mental health agencies, and the courts. Municipal and state legislative bodies must play a vital role by insuring that any legislation concerning substance abuse will be of such a nature as to not give these children the additional problem of being labeled a delinquent.

As a Juvenile Court Judge, I am concerned that so much time is allowed to lapse between a child's first symptoms of oncoming difficulties, and the time corrective action is taken. Their problems intensify each day that they are forced to attempt to cope with the traditional programs in schools and other agencies. Dr. Hanson's presentation included the hypothesis that a potential glue-sniffer can be detected when he is in the third grade, when he is approximately eight or nine years old.

My first plea, therefore, is to the schools. When a child begins to work at a level significantly beneath the achievement of his first two school years and beneath his measured intelligence, recognize the fact that you are dealing with a child whose self-image and self confidence is being destroyed, and do everything within the school's power to help this youngster.

My second plea is to community and recreation centers. The child who withdraws or the child who "shows off" and creates havoc is frequently the child who needs special attention--give him every opportunity to earn attention in a positive manner. This child may be the one who does not fit into a regularly-scheduled group.

Rather than exclude this child, bring him into the group or develop a new group to include him. Provide your most capable staff to lead the boys in discussion and creative activities to the most imaginative extent possible.

My third plea is to caseworkers. In working with glue sniffers and similar children, concentrate maximally on family counselling. Help each family member to cope better with his own problems, and understand how these problems add to those of other family members. Point out the strengths of each family member, and underline how these strengths can be used to undergird another family member who may be having a difficult time. The Juvenile Court Project casework counsellor has had some fascinating experiences in the use of a modification of the role-playing technique.

My fourth plea is to the mental health services. Don't expect this child or his family to come to your clinic regularly, nor to seek insight into their problems. Go out to them. Work in their neighborhood. Give them what they need. Use non-traditional methods. Give of yourself.

My fifth plea is to police officers. Granted, there are times when a substance abusing child is involved in a serious offense. In these instances, you have no alternative to making an arrest. However, these children most often come to the attention of the police because of substance-induced intoxication. In these instances, to the degree feasible, take the child to his home. To leave him on the streets could lead to his becoming injured. To arrest him will reinforce his already poor self-image, and will serve only to almost guarantee that you will be seeing him "in trouble" again. Also, insist that a community agency provide him and his family with effective service.

And a sixth plea is to my fellow jurists in juvenile courts. It is essentially the same as the plea to police officers. An habituated glue-sniffer will not stop this practice because you warn him or threaten him. Nor will he attend school daily though you warn him of the consequences. Traditional probation and traditional delinquency restitutions do not reach him. Far more total and prolonged intervention is needed. Arrange it.

